

2002
SPECIAL
ISSUE

Dateline

ASSIGNMENT: THE WAR ON TERROR

INSIDE: WINNERS OF THE OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB AWARDS



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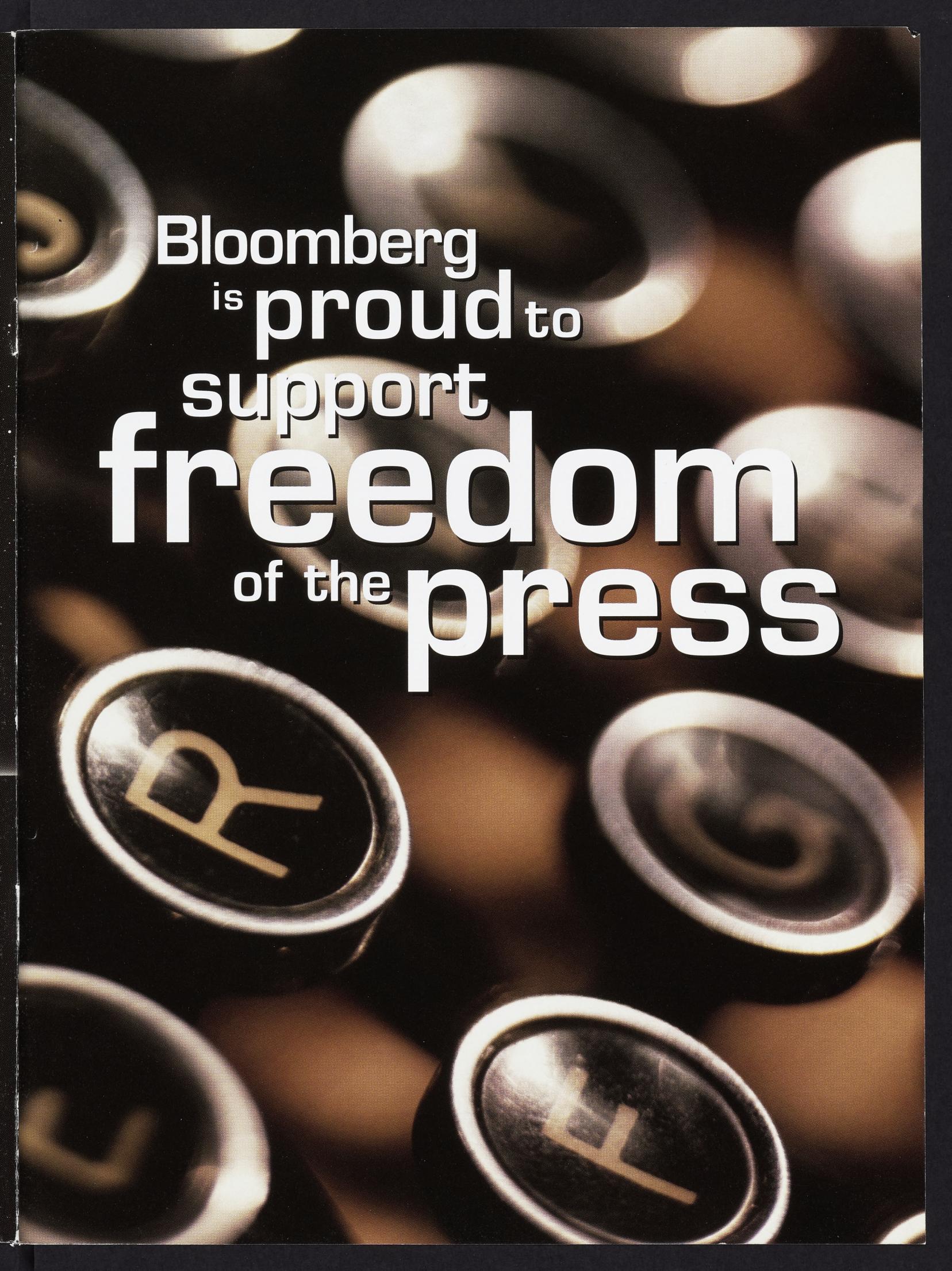
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Dateline

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Letter from the President

The somber and momentous year that has passed since our last Awards Dinner has changed life in America in ways we are only beginning to understand. After the September 11 attacks on New York and Washington, Americans felt vulnerable in a way they hadn't since World War II. With the war on terrorism, the nation embarked on a long twilight struggle whose outcome and duration may not be known for years. But one thing is clear: The mission of the Overseas Press Club has never been more important, and its members have never had a better chance to make an impact.

In hindsight, it should be obvious to every American that it's not optional, but flat-out necessary, to be informed about what's going on in the world. What we don't know can hurt us badly. If people haven't yet grasped this truth, they are surely more ready to understand it now than they have been for years. But it's still up to us, as members of this club, to hammer it home at every chance we get—and I call on all OPC members now to do their part. Talk up the cause, write op-ed pieces and letters to editors, keep up the pressure on friends and acquaintances who influence news coverage, and work to recruit new members who can help in this mission. It has never been more important.

The awards we present at our annual dinner are the best known of the club's three main efforts to promote overseas coverage, reward excellence, and defend press freedom. The 448 entries submitted this year constituted an especially strong field, representing quality journalism on topics ranging from the environment to the assault on the World Trade Center. The OPC Foundation's 11 annual scholarships were given this year to a brilliant crop of aspiring foreign correspondents with an amazing record of early achievement. And the importance of the work of our Freedom of the Press Committee (page 67) was starkly underscored by the brutal murder in Pakistan of *The Wall Street Journal's* Daniel Pearl.

On all these fronts, we are determined to do more and do it better. But we need the help of our members and friends—and we're grateful for the support that all of them provide.

I want to thank especially Bloomberg News Service for lending us staff and facilities for the production of this year's *Dateline*, again ably edited by our own Michael Serrill. Thanks also to former OPC presidents Bill Holstein and John Corporon for co-chairing the work of the awards judges, to the more than 70 judges who agonized over hard decisions, and to the sponsors who make the awards possible (page 53).

It's a pleasure to honor the winners. It is also a pleasure to present a special citation to *The New York Times*, whose response to last year's crisis, the special section called "A Nation Challenged," sets a new standard of excellence for a paper that has always set the pace in overseas coverage.

Journalists are rarely popular, perhaps because they are so often messengers bringing unwelcome news—tidings of war, genocide, creeping despotism, or environmental devastation. The risks that reporters and cameramen accept as part of the job aren't generally understood, either. When Daniel Pearl was kidnapped and murdered, most Americans were surprised to learn that nine journalists (none of them American) had already been killed covering the war in Afghanistan (page 10). In all, 37 journalists around the world were killed in 2001 for doing their jobs, and more than 100 were in prison as the year ended.

We don't need popularity or expect gratitude. What we need is general recognition that the work we do is necessary if people are to be free. That's a fact that many of us tend to take for granted, but we can't assume that everyone understands it. If we don't sound the message loud and clear, who else is going to do it?



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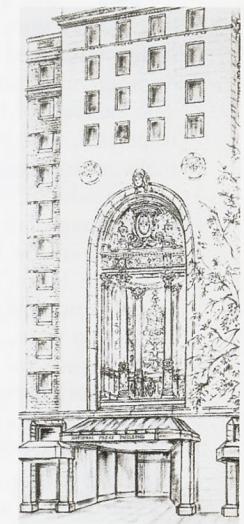
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By Melinda Liu

The Other Afghan War

Afghanistan has long been a dangerous assignment for journalists. But a decade and a half ago, with Soviet occupation troops in the country, Afghanistan felt—dare I say it?—less dangerous than it feels today. This is not a fashionable statement to make, I realize, especially when it's made by an American. Nor is this an endorsement of the Russian occupation, which brought tremendous suffering to the Afghan people and was doomed to fail.

Still, a Western journalist covering Soviet-occupied Afghanistan had the best of both worlds. When traveling with the anti-Soviet Afghan freedom fighters, or *mujahideen*, Americans were comrades-in-arms. To be sure, with the *mooj* we were always deathly afraid of the huge Russian helicopter gunships that sometimes appeared out of nowhere. But we rarely witnessed genuine combat close-up. And with the *mujahideen*, there was always the reassuring notion (whether justified or not) that if things went really bad we might be rescued by Pakistani intelligence or the CIA, who were covertly providing the rebels with money, training, and Stinger missiles.

On the other hand, while reporting in the cities controlled by the Soviet-backed Najibullah regime, Afghan officials were always trying to protect and impress Western journalists with Kabul's brand of Soviet-style propaganda. I made several reporting trips to Kabul during the Russian occupation and covered the withdrawal of the last of Moscow's 115,000 combat troops in 1989. Sure, foreign journalists were at risk—as they are in every war zone. But we weren't that fearful of the Afghans themselves. The things that scared me most were the mines scattered everywhere, especially those diabolical Russian ones dropped from the sky in the shape of toy helicopters or miniature radios. Mines designed to be picked up by curious children—I found these maniacal explosives more horrific than any combat weaponry.

In Kabul, we journalists stayed within the Russian perimeter, where Westerners were relatively safe. Actually, there were three concentric perimeters around the capital, each one more heavily fortified than the next. I recall hopping into the car of a British diplomat who habitually prowled the inner perimeter at night; in the darkness, we shared cigarettes with the Afghan guards and chitchatted in broken Dari. They looked about 13 years old, but at least they wore uniforms and seemed friendly. Occasionally cars carrying Western journalists were shot at when they approached a checkpoint in or near Kabul. (A couple of reporters were wounded when they encountered a set of especially trigger-happy Afghan

guards.) But that sort of incident was the exception, not the rule.

There were everyday events that made life in Kabul seem more, well, normal then: dogs wrestling in the snow, thrilling games of *buzkashi*, world-class carpet shopping on Chicken Street—in other words, all the born-again phenomena that journalists are writing about now as “news.”

During the Soviet occupation, women in Kabul lived under what seemed like comparatively normal circumstances—they walked the streets without covering their faces in the all-enveloping *chadri* or *burqa*. There were female teachers and doctors, and even militia, whom we could look in the eye and interview. In one of my yellowing notebooks from February, 1989, I have notes from a talk I had with a Kabuli named Shafiqar Rashmandar from something called the All-Afghan Women's Council. “For the first time in Afghan history, by our own demand we women want to be armed,” she told me, referring to the women's militia. But the Soviet-backed regime's women warriors didn't help it survive; Moscow's man in Kabul, Afghan President Najibullah, was publicly hanged and castrated a few years after the Soviet pullout. I wonder where Rashmandar is today.

**A WAR
THAT SEEMED
SOMEHOW LESS
DANGEROUS
FOR FOREIGN
JOURNALISTS:
SOVIET TROOPS
SCAN THE
AFGHAN
HIGHLANDS
FOR SIGNS
OF THE ENEMY
IN 1988**



Even the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan was conducted in a relatively civilized manner, with a gravitas and ceremony that contrasts with the bloody chaos we have witnessed all too often in Afghanistan since October. Here's the media image that's most deeply etched in my mind from Soviet-era Afghanistan: It was early 1989, on a long, dusty road leading through northern Afghanistan toward Uzbekistan, then the gateway to the Soviet Union. The Moscow-backed Afghan government had organized a bunch of foreign media to cover the final Soviet withdrawal. A long convoy of Russian tanks and armored personnel carriers snaked north along the road. Suddenly, a howling horde swarmed down from the hills toward the convoy and, with surprising ease, began climbing on top of the armored vehicles.

But the attackers were not Afghan *mujahideen*. They were foreign journalists chasing the story of Moscow's humbling retreat. Japanese cameramen thrust long microphones inside tanks and shouted questions (in Japanese) at startled Russian soldiers ensconced within. Somehow in the crush, at least half a dozen of the world's top Western photojournalists—all prize-winning names you'd recognize immediately—wound up on top of the same Russian tank, snapping away while trying to elbow the others off.

It was after the Soviet withdrawal that the real nastiness began, at least for me. In December, 1991, I traveled with several Afghan *mujahideen* to Khost, a city in eastern Afghanistan that was among the first to fall into rebel hands. The

The scariest part was the mines, especially the diabolical Russian ones that looked like toy helicopters or tiny radios

defeat of the Russian-backed Afghan army there had left a power vacuum that was filled, uneasily, by no fewer than seven heavily armed, rival *mujahideen* factions. The followers of one warlord controlled a strategic fort, those of another the airport, and so on.

Approaching the checkpoints between each warlord's turf was nerve-racking; everyone with a weapon, it seemed, was trying to stick it up our noses. It does not surprise me today that, during the U.S.-led war in Afghanistan, Khost is notorious for its treachery. (In late March, two Afghan mercenaries allied with U.S. forces in Khost were arrested for attacking the city's security chief when he tried to disarm them.)

During that 1991 visit to Khost, several Afghan *mujahideen* had helped smuggle me into Afghanistan over the border from Pakistan disguised as an Afghan man. That part hasn't changed. For foreign correspondents, the ability to don indigenous clothing and pass as a local was part of the normal journalistic repertoire. (Then and now, I managed to convince at least some Afghans that I belonged to the Hazara ethnic minority, which has Sinic features.)

Even then, some *mujahideen* were hostile to Westerners. Almost completely covered up in the flowing local garb called *shalwar kameez*, I visited a clinic in Khost run by Arab volunteers and doctors. It had no electricity, no running water, and virtually no medicine. The dirty concrete floor was littered with bloodstained bandages, used syringes, and battlefield detritus. My photographer and I were confronted by several Saudi and Yemeni men who immediately got aggressive and started to berate our Afghan escorts. "What are they doing here? Get out! Get out!" hissed one of the Arabs, as the others spat at us.

Even our battle-hardened Afghan escorts got jittery, and we left Khost without delay. After a bone-rattling drive in a beat-up Toyota truck, we finally arrived in Pakistan. Relieved to have escaped from Khost, I sat down with Steve LeVine, then a stringer for *Newsweek*, to write a story about the "Arab connection." It warned that the growing involvement and influence of non-Afghan Muslim extremists, many of them wealthy Arabs, in the Afghan conflict was having a worrisome, anti-Western "blowback" effect.

Back then, we were all supposed to be on the same side, allied against the Russians and their Afghan proxies. But in July, 1991, the U.S. had cut off its military assistance to the rebels. (Moscow had done the same to its clients in Kabul.) As a result, I wrote, "in recent months the *mujahideen* have become increasingly resentful toward Washington for 'abandoning' their cause. If Khost is in fact the future of Afghanistan, it's a disturbing omen." Even I didn't know, until years later, how prophetic those words would become.

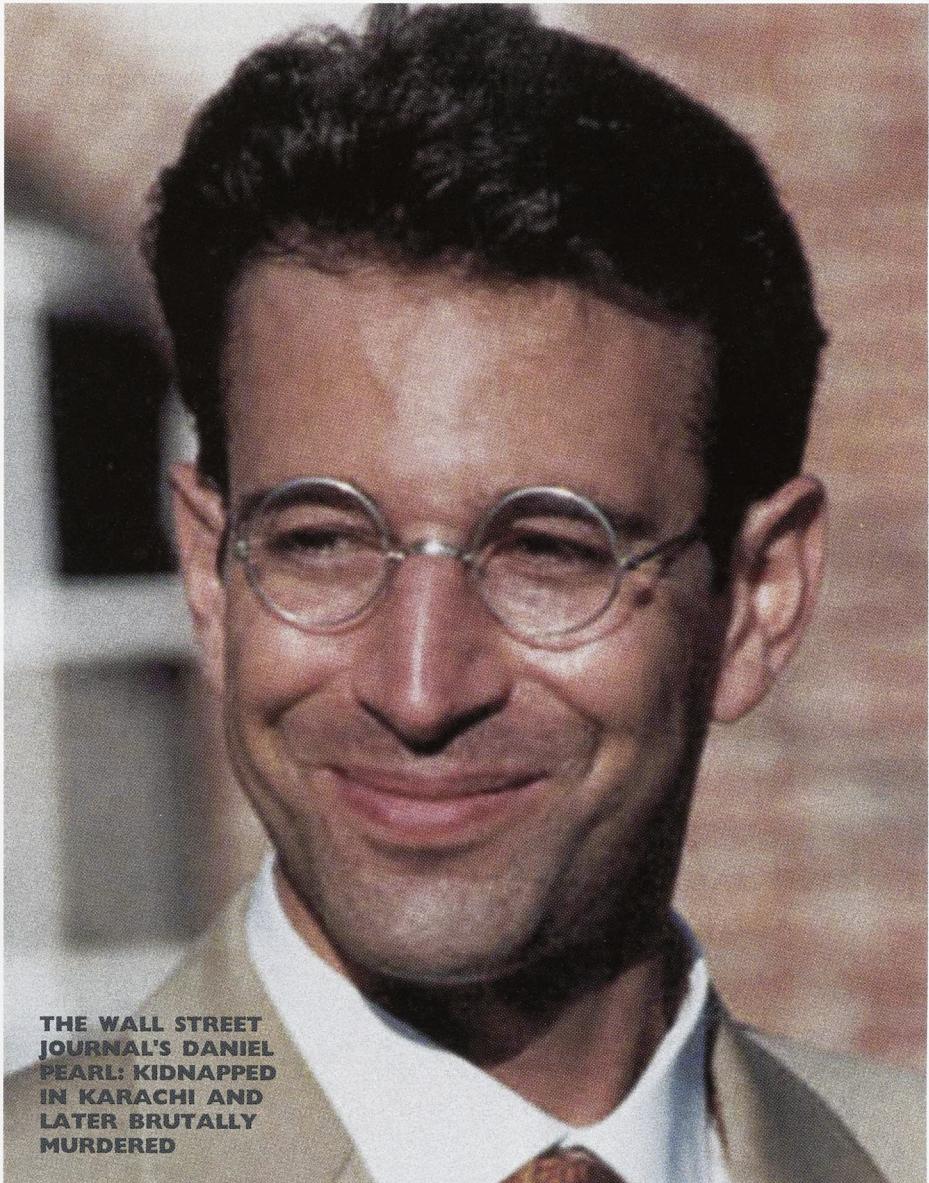
Liu is the Beijing bureau chief for Newsweek. She recently spent nearly three months covering the Afghan conflict.



ON THE FRONT: TRAGEDY, HEROISM, AND A PHONY MEDIA WAR

By any measure, Afghanistan has been rough on the working press. Not only have nine journalists been killed, but the Pentagon has tried to 'manage' the story to death

By Rod Nordland



**THE WALL STREET
JOURNAL'S DANIEL
PEARL: KIDNAPPED
IN KARACHI AND
LATER BRUTALLY
MURDERED**

In scrawled handwriting on a page torn from a reporter's notebook, the notice that went up in the conference room at Kabul's Intercontinental Hotel late last November was a *cri de cœur*. "Bad News. Our beloved colleague and friend is dead. Ulf Stromberg, news cameraman for TV4 Sweden was shot dead...."

Ulf had opened the door of his room in a house in Taloqan, in northern Afghanistan, and Northern Alliance soldiers killed him under murky circumstances. By then, the war had already moved on to Kabul and other parts; Taloqan had become a forgotten front, and most of the reporters were already on their way out. Perhaps the murderers were just taking a last opportunity to rob the press, but when Ulf reflexively slammed the door shut, the two gunmen opened fire. "Ulf lived for just another 20 minutes," his colleagues wrote in the notice to the press corps. "Our thoughts go to his wife, Angela, and his three lovely kids. He was a hell of a cameraman. One of the greatest ever. We loved him. Our sorrow is indescribable."

That sort of news became almost depressingly routine late last year. Colleagues were picked off on the road to Kabul, and on the front lines outside Khoja Bahawaddin, near the northernmost Tajikistan border. Nearly all of those cov-

ering Afghanistan had used one of those two routes in, and so it could have happened to any of us. In less than 10 days in November, eight Western journalists were killed, a body count that at the time was higher than the U.S. military's own death toll—even including accidents and friendly-fire incidents. As of late March, five months after the fall of Kabul, nine Western journalists had lost their lives to

Afghanistan offers "great adrenaline and breathtaking scenes. But below the surface lurk things with big teeth"

hostile action connected directly to the war on terror—the eight from last year and Daniel Pearl, the reporter for *The Wall Street Journal* who was brutally murdered after having been kidnapped in Karachi.

By any measure, it has been rough on the working press. "Working in Afghanistan and Pakistan is the journalistic equivalent of diving the Great Barrier Reef," says Melinda Liu, *Newsweek's* Beijing bureau chief, who covered Afghanistan last year and on many occasions earlier. "Great adrenaline and breathtaking

scenes, and a thrilling sense of achievement once you get out. But below the surface lurk things with big teeth." Adding insult to injury, the press's most implacable foe in covering the war on terror has turned out not to be terrorists but the Pentagon, which has brought press-military relations to their lowest ebb in a century.

If anything, the death toll could well have been higher, given the conditions and the several thousand Western journalists in Afghanistan by December. "When I heard that one of my friends from Khoja Bahawaddin had been killed shortly after the fall of Kabul, I caught myself thinking how surprised I was that it hadn't happened earlier," says *Newsweek's* Moscow bureau chief, Christian Caryl, who did two tours in Afghanistan, in October and January.

Those first three journalists killed, a German working for *Stern*, Volker Handloik, and two French radio journalists, Johanne Sutton of Radio France International and Pierre Billaud of Radio TV Luxembourg, were among a group of journalists who on Nov. 11 thought they were going to be taken by Northern Alliance soldiers to a dog and pony show featuring empty trenches from which the Taliban had earlier fled. They were so relaxed, some were sunbathing to while away the time waiting for the final stage

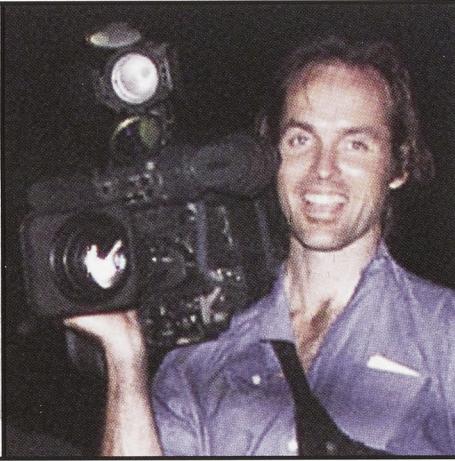
PEDRO RAMIREZ, DIRECTOR OF EL MUNDO, WITH MONICA GARCIA PRIETO, WIDOW OF CORRESPONDENT JULIO FUENTES, KILLED IN AN AMBUSH ON NOV. 19 IN AFGHANISTAN



In memory



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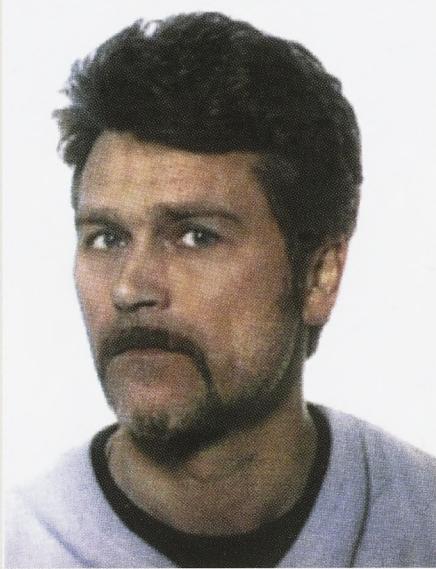
of their trip to start. When it did, Taliban fighters turned out to still be in the trenches, ready to ambush the reporters, tragically. All three of those riding on top of a Northern Alliance armored vehicle were killed.

Only eight days later, Taliban sympathizers killed four journalists on the road from Jalalabad to Kabul. They probably thought they were not in any special danger. Many journalists, including four of us from *Newsweek*, had preceded them in the days before without incident. Two of the victims, Italian Maria Grazia Cutuli of Italy's *Corriere della Sera*, and Julio Fuentes of Spain's *El Mundo*, had just come from what probably seemed a much more dangerous assignment: investigating an al Qaeda training camp near Jalalabad that had only just been abandoned, where they had discovered evidence of sarin-gas cannisters. It was, at the time, a worldwide scoop, but they were both dead within a day of publishing it.

There was plenty of such enterprise among the press in Afghanistan, but not all of it was laudable. For two months prior to the fall of Kabul, journalists played a waiting game in Northern Alliance-held territory. There was little to do—the front lines there had been static for years, and remained so. It was expensive and difficult to get crews of reporters and technicians into the area, and a health hazard once they were there. Many became ill from bad hygiene, tainted food and water, and endemic disease and had to be evacuated. Among just *Newsweek* journalists, our casualties included cases of hepatitis, dysentery, giardia (twice), and suspected typhoid.

Unfortunately, the travails of the waiting game pushed many news organizations—especially television outlets—into faking it. It became routine practice, for instance, for network crews to pay for “bang-bang” on demand. The going rate for a tank crew to fire a shell at the Taliban front lines on camera was \$100 to \$150, depending on caliber, payable in cash to the tank commander. Small-arms firefights and artillery shellings could also be arranged for sliding fees. Never mind that most of this took place within a convenient afternoon drive from Khoja Bahawaddin, a village on the Tajikistan border better known as “TV City”—and a place of no strategic import whatsoever. Few reports made that clear.

The militias that made up the Northern Alliance were making so much money off the press corps by November that



ULF STROMBERG OF SWEDEN'S TV4: THE CAMERAMAN WAS KILLED BY NORTHERN ALLIANCE SOLDIERS IN NOVEMBER

when everyone picked up stakes and rolled down to Kabul, a two-day firefight broke out between two rival factions of Northern Alliance fighters in Khoja Bahawaddin over the leftovers—the right to provide drivers and interpreters to the few remaining television crews staying behind. This was a lot more than harmless TV hijinks and the usual wanton network spending. This sort of journalistic perfidy created the impression around the world that there was a shooting war going on between the Northern Alliance and the Taliban, which was not the case. Taliban lines broke under massive B-52 bombing, and Northern Alliance armor and infantry had virtually no effect on the outcome—they simply rolled in when their enemy had been bombed into full flight. Most of the people they killed were stragglers, prisoners even, and mostly they were killed in cold blood, not in combat.

You will search mostly in vain for that story.

The problems of covering the war have been greatly aggravated by the unapologetic hostility of the American military to the working press in theater. The tone was set early on by U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, who publicly vowed to conduct the war in absolute secrecy. In his confused first speech after the World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks on September 11, he actually seemed to be blaming press leaks for what had happened. As time went on and the war in Afghanistan appeared to be going pretty well, the Pentagon eased up on its kill-the-messenger policy and allowed a handful of journalists, mostly out of Wash-

ington, D.C., to make brief visits to the U.S. Marines base near Kandahar, and to Special Forces camps out of harm's way in places like Mazar-e-Sharif (see “Tora Bora, Cave by Cave,” page 18). But in those cases, most of the visiting journalists were force-fed the military's view of things—and were expressly prohibited from talking to locals, or even venturing unescorted “outside the wire.” For those of us working the story in the field, even well into February there wasn't a single meaningful American military point of contact east of Tampa, Fla.—where the U.S. Central Command was based—and especially not among the Special Forces or U.S. Marines in Afghanistan.

Occasionally we would manage to talk to American soldiers on a one-to-one basis, but the Rumsfeld attitude had trickled down to nearly all G.I.s. When I struck up a conversation with an American soldier on sentry duty at the Bagram Air Base north of Kabul, he told me how his squad had intervened to stop Northern Alliance troops who were robbing and beating up a British journalist. “Even though he was a journalist,” the corporal said, “he didn't deserve that.”

Press access to information in Afghanistan improved slightly by March, when the American military set up a press tent at Bagram, hosted daily briefings, and even allowed Afghan-based reporters to fly into the Gardez theater during their offensive outside that city. But even there, the access only began once the action was over, making it difficult to evaluate the military's claims that, for instance, coalition forces had killed 700 al Qaeda fighters in the Mar. 3-13 campaign. They showed us three bodies, and asked us to take the rest on faith. Some of us still remember the Five O'Clock Follies during the Vietnam War.

None of this hostility has been necessary. American journalists are scrupulous about playing by the rules when the military sets down sensible ones. And the military should know that working with the press is a lot better for its image than working against it. The British-led peace-keeping force in Kabul, the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), has been from the first days forthcoming and cooperative with journalists in the area—not always on the record, but always playing it straight. They get along with the press, and they get a fair deal in the media's coverage. When two of their soldiers opened fire by mistake on a car carrying

a pregnant woman to the hospital, killing a man, those soldiers were promptly transferred out of theater, and the British commanders admitted the mistake and quickly ordered an investigation. Contrast that to the weeks of denial by the Pentagon, in the face of massive evidence to the contrary, that American planes and soldiers had mistakenly attacked and killed scores of civilians in at least three well-documented incidents.

It's a matter of some chagrin to most of us American journalists that our own country's military treats us as the enemy. I don't know many American journalists who oppose in principle the U.S. presence in Afghanistan. The point of exposing the killings of civilians, for instance, is to make sure it stops happening. It makes good sense militarily, too. Most Afghans are on our side now, that's clear; we need to keep them there.

Afghanistan remains a dangerous place to work, and better relations would make it less so. Kabul now is an island of relative safety in a shark-infested sea. Cooperation with the American military would greatly reduce the risks everyone takes when they move around the countryside, but there has been almost none of that. On Mar. 4, *The Washington Post*'s Peter Baker, *Newsweek*'s Scott Johnson, and AFP's Stephen Coates rescued a colleague, Kathleen Kenna of the *Toronto Star*, who had been severely mauled by a grenade thrown at her car by an apparent al Qaeda sympathizer. They took her to the U.S. Special Forces camp outside Gardez, and much to their credit, the soldiers there promptly med-evaced her by air. But by then, darkness had fallen. When the three journalists came under fire trying to get back to their quarters in Gardez, they pleaded for refuge in the camp. The Americans refused, forcing them to spend a cold night in their cars parked alongside a road in what was effectively no-man's-land. In two decades of reporting on wars, I've never seen such bad relations between the American military and the press.

Afghanistan is not the only risky place in the war on terror. After September 11, the Taliban quickly expelled those journalists who were already in Kabul, and didn't allow others to visit. So the Western



CATANIA, SICILY: THE FUNERAL MASS FOR CORRIERE DELLA SERA'S MARIA GRAZIA CUTULI, WHO DIED IN THE NOV. 19 AMBUSH IN AFGHANISTAN

press flooded into Pakistan, the most obvious listening post and a major player in whatever happened in Afghanistan. At that time, many were aware that Pakistan, too, was a dangerous place for Westerners. Americans had been assassinated in Karachi and, earlier, in the capital of Islamabad. As early as 1999, Kashmiri extremists of the *Harakat-ul mujahideen*, the group suspected of involvement in Pearl's kidnapping, had fired rockets at the U.S. Embassy's American Center, killing Pakistani guards there. By the end of 1999, virtually no Western expatriates were left in Pakistan, despite scores of major U.S. and European businesses in the country. Western businessmen came, did their work, and left as soon as possible, heeding their embassies' warnings about the risks.

"One of the most dangerous things about Pakistan is the veneer of Westernization, which lulls us into a sense of security there," says Liu. "You think you can work normally in Pakistan. But in fact residents in some areas, especially the tribal regions, are as virulently anti-American as they come." Compared with Afghanistan, though, Pakistan came to seem like a relatively safe place to work. In the first weeks of the conflict, journalists were routinely stoned and verbally

abused at street demonstrations around Pakistan. But that sort of harassment disappeared as the Taliban's fortunes waned, and Pakistani public opinion swung toward the West. In Islamabad, the Marriott Hotel initially installed anti-car-bomb baffles outside the entranceway and metal detectors in the doors. But the baffles came down after the Taliban was defeated, and guards routinely ignore the metal-detector alarms as people breeze straight through them, pockets loaded with cell phones, cameras—or whatever.

Newsweek's Bangkok-based Ron Moreau has survived close calls in wars in Vietnam and Cambodia, Kurdistan, and Iraq. He found Pakistan particularly worrisome. "Most of us," he says, "think the risks we are taking are well calculated...that you are fairly sure you know the environment you are working in and that the story is worth the effort and the risk." In that context, the risks Pearl took—keeping a rendezvous with terrorists despite repeated warnings not to do so—are hard to comprehend.

Liu is not so sure about that. "We're trained all our careers to jump on top of elusive sources with hot stories to tell," she notes. Adds Caryl: "The potential stories are so huge that almost any risk seems negligible by comparison. The idea of finding Osama bin Laden's hideout or a cache of al Qaeda weapons of mass destruction—well, you'd be willing to lose a limb for a story like that. I fear that some of us will lose more than that before it's all over."

It takes more than a body count to keep the press away. The warning by Pearl's kidnappers that they would kill American journalists if they didn't leave has, if anything, strengthened reporters' resolve to stay and work the story. Until this happened, Pakistan's foreign press corps was decidedly thinning out. After the Pearl killing, the reporters were back in force, Americans and all. But they are every bit as much on guard now as their colleagues on the Afghan side of the old Durand Line.



Nordland is correspondent-at-large for *Newsweek*, based in London. He has covered every U.S. military intervention since Grenada.



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Tora Bora, Cave by Cave

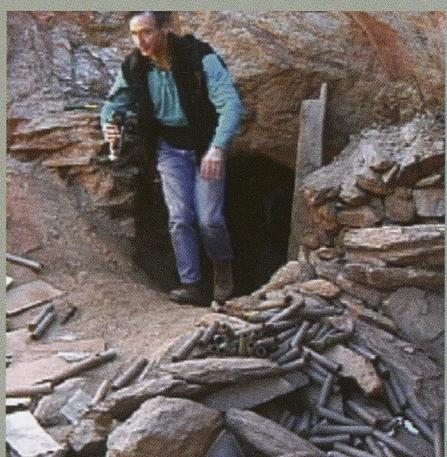
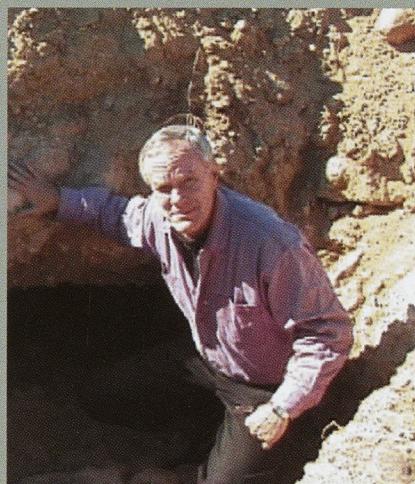
U.S. Special Operations troops moved quickly in Afghanistan—and got the job done. For a few days in January, a select group of journalists got to see them at work

By John F. McWethy

THEY ONLY FLY AT NIGHT. NO LIGHTS. ON JAN. 5, AS A DOOR GUNNER AND TAIL GUNNER SCAN THE GROUND FOR ANTI-aircraft fire, a hulking twin-rotor U.S. Army helicopter delivers a week's supplies and this television correspondent to the remote Special Operations base camp in Tora Bora. One of the war's most intense battles was fought here in November. With American aircraft raining bombs on the ridge lines, U.S. Special Operations troops and their Afghan allies went after what was clearly an al Qaeda stronghold. In the end, bodies littered the mountainsides. This is where Osama bin Laden was reportedly

last seen—and where hundreds of his al Qaeda fighters are believed to have died. It is a dusty plain bordered by snow-capped mountains that are riddled with caves that have hidden Afghan fighters over the centuries.

Tora Bora is also where I am permitted to get a glimpse, nearly four months after the terrorist attacks of September 11, of American Special Operations troops making history. Never before have these

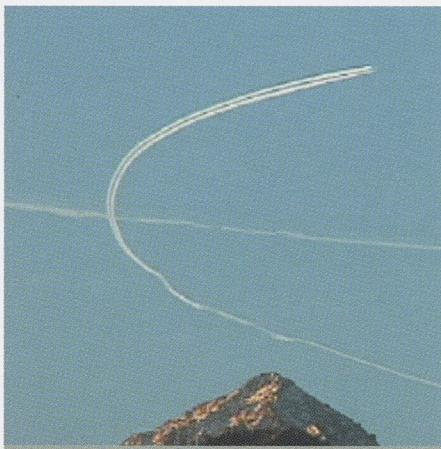


unconventional forces carried such a heavy load in an American war. Their stunning success in this conflict—the speed with which they overthrew the Taliban—surprised even themselves. But what they have done and how they have done it is only vaguely understood by the American public.



WE ARRIVE HERE BECAUSE U.S. DEFENSE Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, after months of lobbying from the media, has finally approved a plan to allow six reporters a brief look at U.S. Special Operations troops on the ground. The idea is to show what these specialized troops are doing without showing journalists too much—that is, all the classified activities these troops are engaged in. The ground rules under which I am permitted to accompany the Special Operations fighters are stringent: ABC can show no faces and use no last names. Perhaps the most daunting obstacle for a tech-challenged correspondent: No cameraman allowed. I have to shoot my own video. Real cameramen, my toughest critics, would later judge my work “adequate” for someone with no training.

The six correspondents, representing *The New York Times*, *Newsweek*, the Associated Press, *USA Today*, CBS, and ABC—all of whom had experience in war zones—were chosen by the Pentagon. (Those news organizations that were left out were furious.) We are flown by the U.S. military to a base just outside Afghanistan—a base that we are not allowed to name—and then offered Special Operations teams in Mazar-e Sharif, Kunduz, Kandahar, and Tora Bora. We have to pick. David Martin of CBS and I choose Tora Bora. We are told we will be in different places. The night of our “insertion,” Martin and I are flown by Special Operations C-130 to Bagram Air Base just north of Kabul. Landing in darkness, we are pushed off the back of the plane toward two waiting helicopters and then are



FACING PAGE CBS National Security Correspondent David Martin (left) and the author (right) explore the caves of Tora Bora.

If a quarter of a million rounds of ammunition could remain after intense American bombing, Osama probably could have survived, too

ABOVE B-52 bombers circle over the mountains of Tora Bora, waiting for a call from American troops on the ground

LEFT America's Afghan allies get a final briefing before heading into the mountains to hunt for caves and al Qaeda stragglers

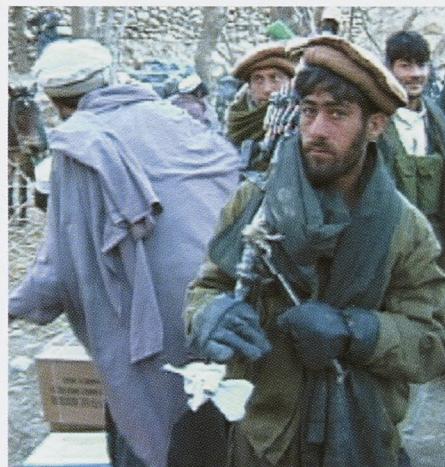
RIGHT Special Operations troops let their hair and beards grow so that—from a distance—they are indistinguishable from their Afghan allies. It makes the U.S. soldiers a less obvious target and a more politically acceptable presence in this part of Afghanistan

BOTTOM A specially adapted night scope on the author's mini-DV camera allowed for spectacular shots of helicopters in the dust



again airborne, heading for Tora Bora. When we arrive, Martin and I discover that we are not in separate units but part of the same large operation of more than 50 Special Ops soldiers. Competitors and friends for more than 20 years, Martin and I realize we are stuck with each other and make the best of it, eventually shooting “standups” for each other and advising on good shots.

Our job is to report on what these unusual soldiers are doing. Their job is to try to do it during the three days we are with them, unaccustomed as they are to the eyes and ears of reporters following their every move. They are looking for caves, and discover many, though only a few that seem to at one time to have been occupied by al Qaeda fighters. They find many fresh graves.



THE FIRST THING WE NOTICE IS THAT these troops look decidedly un-military. Indeed, their appearance would make most Army generals grimace. They all have scruffy beards and shaggy hair, and many soldiers are in local dress. No one wears a flak jacket or a helmet. It's difficult to tell officer from enlisted man, soldier from CIA agent—and in some cases, Afghan from American. Every one of these U.S. soldiers speaks a foreign language fluently. They each have specialized skills in weapons, intelligence gathering, medicine, communications. They are diplomats, spies, or killers, depending on the mission.

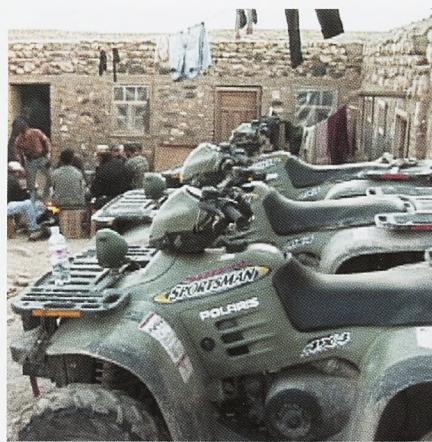
Why the disguises? “At a casual glance from a distance,” explained a young Special Forces captain named Pat, “the intent is to blend in and become one of them.” The idea is to make it hard to tell the Americans from the Afghan fighters who are constantly with them. The Afghan “look” also eases the concerns of local tribal elders, who are not so sure they want the Americans here at all. These “low-profile” troops

make acceptance of U.S. help more politically acceptable in this part of Afghanistan. "We are going to leave them with a good taste in their mouth," Pat says, "and a good memory of the American military." That's the intent, anyway.



THE TROOPS SLEEP ON A CEMENT FLOOR in the unheated rooms of an abandoned school. There is no running water and no electricity. The soldiers share the building with Afghan fighters. At night, they sit around their campfire, eating MREs (meals ready to eat) and drinking bottled water while the Afghans sit 20 feet away at their own campfire eating chicken and rice and drawing their water from a nearby polluted stream. For miles in every direction, the Afghan warlords have set up checkpoints to stop suspicious people—and that definitely includes reporters—from getting near this hub of American activity.

But we are inside those checkpoints, living large. We eat the same MREs that the troops consume, and we sleep on the



ABOVE All-terrain vehicles outside the abandoned school that is "home" to the Special Ops troops

TOP LEFT Soldiers call campfires "Special Forces TV"; they're the only entertainment after sundown

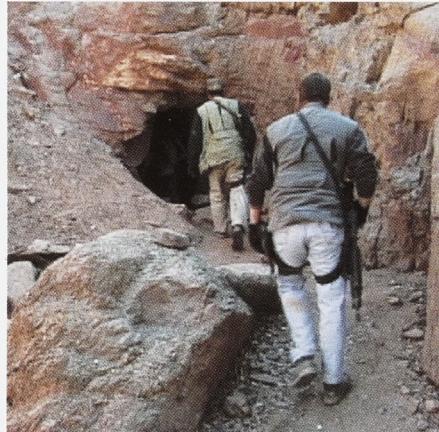
TOP RIGHT After a five-mile hike up a streambed, Afghan and U.S. troops discuss tactics for climbing a canyon wall in search of caves

LOWER RIGHT Investigating a cave. Says one U.S. officer: "We have not seen any complex that has various levels, ventilation, or any kind of improved structures. We've only found pretty simple caves that go back up to 60 feet"

LOWER LEFT To pass the time, some soldiers roll their own cigarettes—filled, they make clear to photographers, with tobacco

BOTTOM Hours before launching a night mission, U.S. troops discover that some of their Afghan allies lack shoes and socks, and others have no weapons, ammunition, food, or water

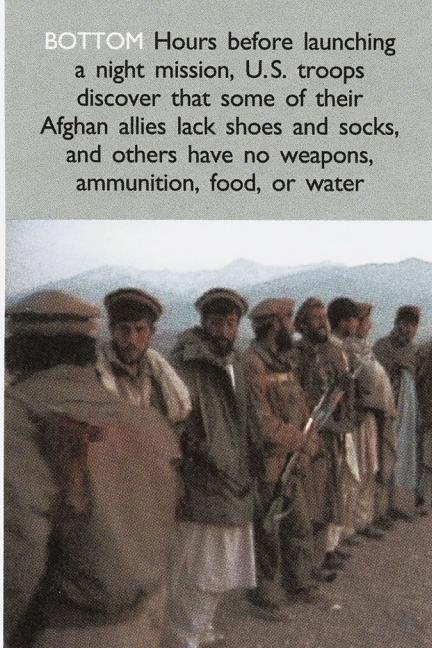
in the war on terrorism, who will win the Super Bowl. By the time we leave, we are collecting home phone numbers so we can call wives and parents and let them know their husbands and sons are all right.



THE DAY BEFORE I ARRIVE, A SPECIAL Forces soldier from a different group is shot in the leg. Another will be killed in an ambush 50 miles away during our stay. A region that seems quiet can turn deadly in seconds. Fortunately, when we are out on missions, air cover is just a radio call away. The job here now for these unconventional troops is to find caves.

At one location high in the Tora Bora mountains, we visit a series of eight caves that still hold a quarter of a million rounds of al Qaeda ammunition. The area has been heavily bombed by the U.S. forces. Craters are everywhere. Trees are shredded. An al Qaeda tank sits on its side, its turret blown off. Yet all the ammunition in the caves is untouched. You have to wonder: If the bullets could survive, why couldn't Osama bin Laden? The border with Pakistan is three miles away, over still higher mountains. The locals say they last saw bin Laden here on Nov. 29, then he vanished.

Every day, small teams of Special Ops



ground with temperatures well below freezing. At first, we are treated with suspicion, but curiosity eventually overcomes the soldiers and there are many long discussions around the campfire. They want to know what is happening back home, what we journalists think might be next



We think people should be well-rounded too.

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LEFT Documents pulled from a cave appear to be al Qaeda personnel files—a potential gold mine of intelligence

BELOW On a mission that could last several days, U.S. troops employ hired donkeys to carry extra gear, sleeping bags, and ammunition—all part of the slow business of searching for caves

RIGHT Some American soldiers had never ridden a donkey before, and some donkeys were not all that interested in carrying American soldiers



that might include names—an address in London, a phone number in Bonn, anything specific that can lead police to knock on doors or tap phones half a world away.

ONE DAY WE BEGIN BEFORE DAWN. THEY tell us we could be out for two days, so sleeping bags, food, water, and extra ammunition are needed. A dozen Special Forces soldiers have hired 15 donkeys and their handlers to lug the gear up a mountain. A dozen Afghan fighters go as well. Serious business, but at times verging on the comic. One U.S. soldier, rifle strapped to his back, tries to ride a don-



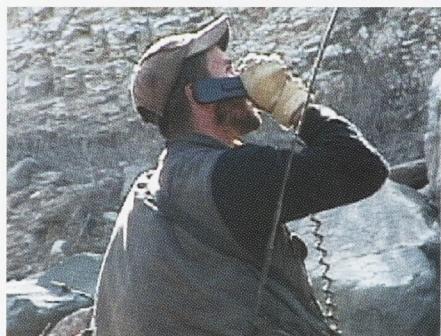
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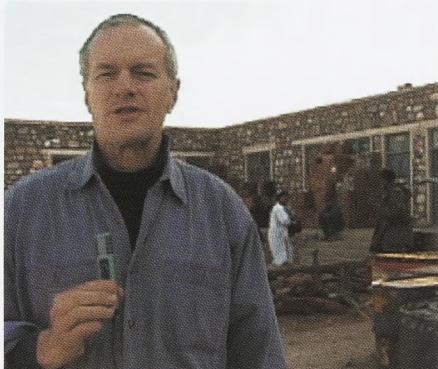
beyond words

Photographer Pete Souza captures Pulitzer Prize-winning foreign correspondent Paul Salopek as they follow a supply trail through a mountain pass high in the Hindu Kush range in northern Afghanistan.

key. The donkey has different ideas and, much to the delight of the Afghans, the soldier is bucked off, the donkey "hee-hawing" up the streambed with his handler giving chase. Five hours later, soldiers split off and head straight up the canyon walls. Intelligence has indicated there are caves in the area, but the soldiers find none. It is another day of massive effort that ends up with a report of "no caves at suspect site No.9."



DURING THE WORST OF THE FIGHTING IN this area between anti-Taliban and U.S. forces on one side and al Qaeda on the other, it was the Special Operations troops



LEFT A team leader gets the bad news that after scaling the canyon wall, his soldiers have found no caves, just shadows in the rocks that appeared to be cave openings from aerial surveillance photos

ABOVE Once the author, on camera here, and CBS's Martin realized that they were stuck with each other, they made the best of it, shooting each other's "standups" and advising on the best shots

who crept within sight of al Qaeda camps. They then called in air strikes with such withering accuracy that enemy fighters who had said they could survive in these mountains indefinitely ran for the border in disorganized retreat while U.S. aircraft continued to attack.

In another area, a Special Forces medic reportedly performed two amputations on friendly Afghan fighters using the saw blade from his Leatherman—a tool that resembles a large Swiss Army knife. Both men reportedly survived the ordeal. So did the medic.

The stories of heroism, of creative soldiering and incredible hardship, are only now beginning to be told. President Bush has said this is a different kind of war. It has turned out to be a conflict where American troops at the front line have been all but invisible, and will generally continue to be so. With rare exceptions, the Pentagon still refuses to allow any coverage of these unusual soldiers who may, by their success, force the U.S. military to radically reassess how it fights future wars.

McWethy is the national security correspondent for ABC News.



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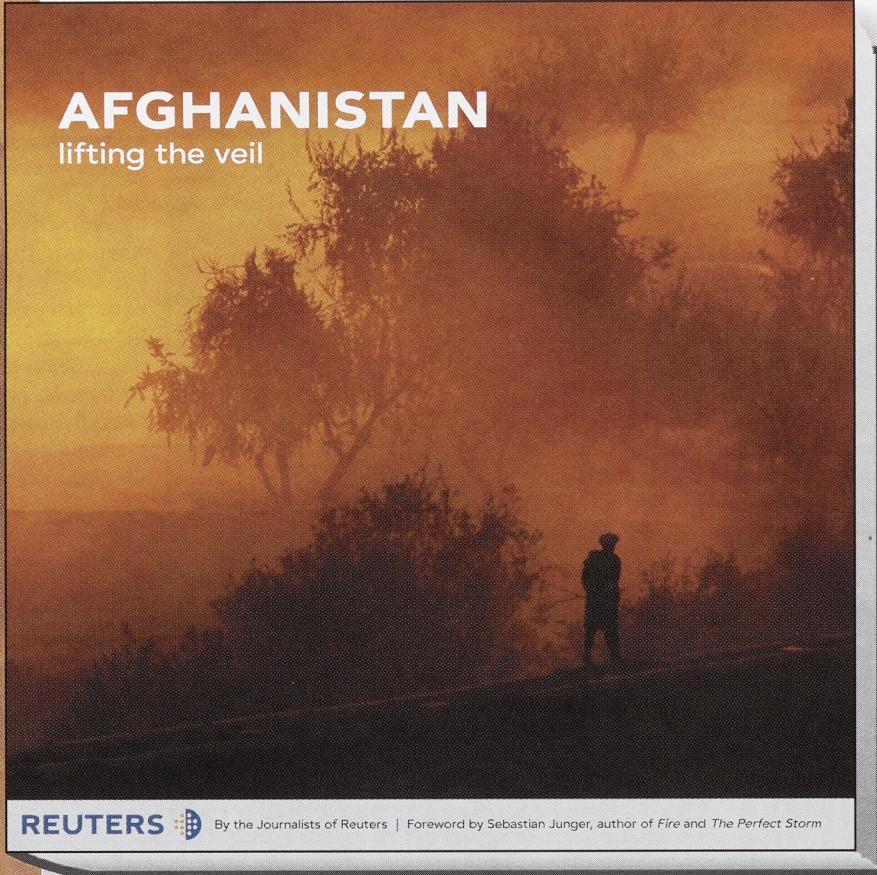
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ACROSS THE KOWKCHEH
RIVER IN A RAFT MADE
OF INFLATED COWHIDES

Lessons from the Battle Zone

By Sebastian Junger

War correspondents don't spend all their time dodging bullets—in fact, they rarely get near the front lines. But in Afghanistan, a journalist could get as close to danger as his courage would allow. Unfortunately, some got too close

**FIELD WORK:
JUNGER WITH
NORTHERN
ALLIANCE SOLDIERS
LOYAL TO AHMAD
SHAH MASSOUD**



Iwent to my first war zone, Bosnia, in 1993. I had no idea what I was doing, but everything worked out, and one of the reasons it did was because journalists help one another in these situations. I have seen journalists share not only information but also cars, food, and money.

When I was covering the brutal civil war in Sierra Leone a couple of years ago, for example, I met a wonderful journalist named Janine di Giovanni. She was covered in mud, running down a highway with gunfire behind her, having narrowly escaped an ambush. I thought: There goes another crazy journalist. Later, we got to know each other, and she gave me a sheaf of papers containing some important information. She had already used it for her daily reports and, knowing that I was writing for *Vanity Fair*, offered to share it with me. I was amazed by that—she was giving away journalism.

When it comes to safety, journalists are even more cooperative. Before going to a war zone, it's important to talk to people who have already worked there. You need to get the name of a good driver and a translator, as well as a hotel. The worst moment in foreign reporting for me is getting off the plane and all of a sudden

finding myself in this incredibly intimidating and challenging environment with only a few weeks to get the story. Having a hotel to go to that first night makes all the difference in the world.

Food and water are issues in some countries. The most recent trip I made was to Afghanistan; there was very little food, so we brought our own. I figured I could survive on a breakfast of oatmeal and coffee every morning and dinner every other night. Things we count on here, like electricity, can't be counted on there; being stuck in Afghanistan without a flashlight is a drag.

Usually the risks you take as a reporter in a war zone are minimal because you have minimal access to the front lines. That was not true in Afghanistan; for the first time, I realized I could get as close to danger as my courage would allow me. It was a very disorienting thought—that you are going to be offered opportunities you may not want to take advantage of. When I was in Afghanistan a little more than a year ago, reporting for *National Geographic Adventure*, we were shelled. It had been a peaceful day, and we were out there to talk to some soldiers and spend the night in their camp. Then everything turned in an instant, and we were stuck. I had never been shelled like that before, and it briefly rearranged my priorities. While it was happening, I didn't particularly care about my story, Afghanistan, or U.S. foreign policy. It was disturbing to me how quickly I abandoned all my idealism. I just wanted to

get out of there. The caring returned a little later, but it took a while. Part of the problem was inexperience; we went right up to the front lines without checking to see what was happening when we got to the position of attack.

When I returned to Afghanistan this past fall to report for *Vanity Fair* and ABC News, there were absolutely no restrictions on anything journalists did. That got some people into trouble, and it got some people killed. By the time the Northern Alliance started to attack the Taliban, we had all been sitting around for a month, waiting for the war to begin. A few people made some rash choices. For example, three journalists were killed while riding on top of an armored personnel carrier at night, driving into a battle. When I heard about it, I could almost understand their actions, after all that waiting around for something to happen. The journalists did not realize that they were in a battle zone. They were moving toward one, but they thought the Taliban had been cleared out. They were just hitching a ride. Granted, it was a bad situation, and I think they should have been more careful, but it probably looked quite safe to them.

The public has a very romanticized image of war correspondents and the dangers they face. They picture someone crouched in a trench with bullets flying around. That happens, but not often. If you assume the only place you have to be careful is at the front line, you risk ignoring other situations that are actually more

Junger is a journalist and author whose most recent book is *Fire*. He has made three reporting trips to Afghanistan since 1996. This article is adapted from a speech given to the American Society of Magazine Editors in January.

hazardous. When I was in Bosnia, my most dangerous incident was a car accident in the mountains of Herzegovina. It was raining and we went off the road, and the car rolled down the hillside. It was a terrible moment, yet it was not classic danger.

Probably the most danger I have ever been in was in Sierra Leone. This was a classic example of thinking that the battlefield is where it is dangerous and dramatic, and that everywhere else is fine. We were driving back to the capital from the battlefield, and rebel soldiers, part of a group called the Westside Boys, stopped us. They were fighting for the government, but they were completely uncontrolled and lawless. We had guns cocked and pointed at our heads for about 20 minutes. I thought I would not be getting out of this. This was on a road that seemed absolutely safe; it was nowhere near the fighting.

Four journalists were killed in Afghanistan in a similar situation. They had been stuck in Pakistan while Kabul fell. They couldn't get across the border. When finally the gates opened up, there was a road to Kabul that was a little



PARTNERS IN WAR REPORTING:
REZA AND JUNGER

dicey, but convoy after convoy made it through, until one convoy got stopped and four journalists were executed. It was just terrible luck. In a conventional war, there are rules. Afghanistan has been at war for 23 years, and there are no rules. The factions are not clear. There are a lot of people with guns, a lot of people who should be your friend but who are your enemy. Consider *The Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl. He was not being a

"war reporter" at the moment he was kidnapped; he was in Karachi.

Ultimately, journalists have to rely on their intuition. But the more you talk to people before you go abroad, the more likely someone will tell you how certain areas, like that road to Kabul, are dangerous as hell. Gathering information beforehand helps you feel more confident—that you will be able to pull it off and come back with a decent story.

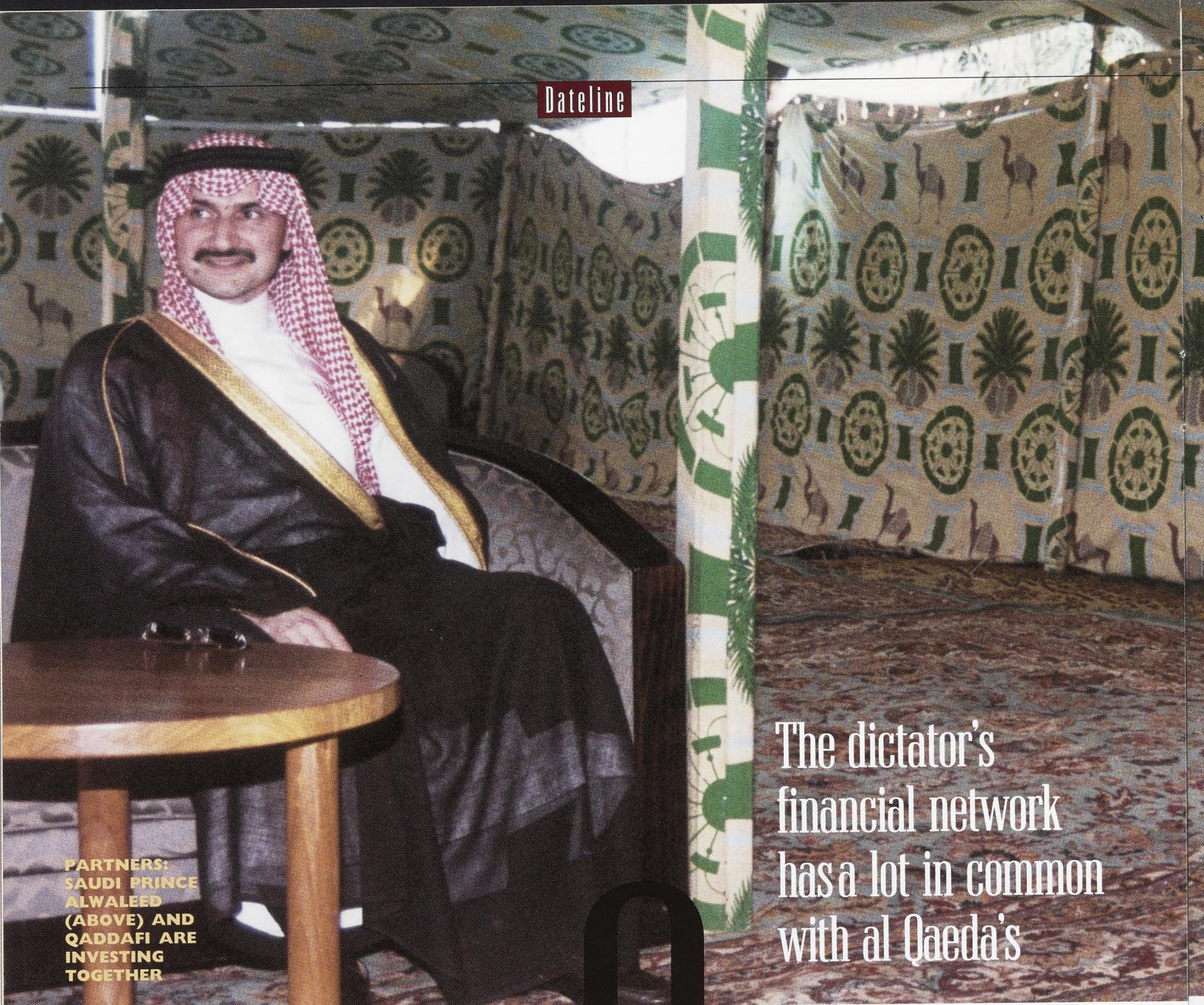


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Answers for questions to come.



The dictator's financial network has a lot in common with al Qaeda's

A VISIT TO QADDAFI'S

By Vernon Silver

Terrorism seemed like old news when I landed in Libya on Sept. 4, assigned to report on how this formerly renegade nation was playing a growing role in international finance. When I interviewed Mohammed Ali El Huwej, a money manager at the Libyan Arab Foreign Investment Co., he even joked about doing business someday with Merrill Lynch & Co. Why not? He was already a partner with billionaire Saudi Prince Alwaleed bin Talal, who owns big stakes in such U.S. companies as



LIBYA, September, 2001

Citigroup Inc. and AOL Time Warner Inc.

The 1980s image of Libyan President Muammar el Qaddafi as a wild-eyed sponsor of terrorism—blamed for such acts as the 1988 bombing of the Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland—seemed outdated. All of that changed on September 11, the day I left Tripoli. I exited, however, with a better story than I anticipated, one that shed a little light on the ins and outs of international money laundering.

From Sept. 4-10, Tripoli seemed more wacky than threatening. Kitschy posters of

Qaddafi evoked Michael Jackson or Boy George, depending on the dictator's choice of fringed epaulettes or flowing robes. I bought a knockoff New York Yankees cap and a Qaddafi wristwatch for a friend in New York whose collection includes a Saddam Hussein doll she got in Baghdad. Imported stereos and cameras filled previously bare electronics shops on main drags such as 1st September Street, which commemorates Qaddafi's 1969 coup. Imported Kellogg cereals cost half what they did when I visited four years before, thanks to the suspension of U.N.

sanctions. Boutiques peddled flimsy jeans with fake Levi Straus & Co. labels. After seeing Bulgarians in bikinis and exploring the ruins of Roman cities along the Mediterranean coast, I asked about potential growth in tourism and archaeology. I even considered writing a color piece about Libya's golf resorts.

By all appearances, Qaddafi and his regime have become downright respectable, even Western. The scene at Libya's best hotel, El Mahary, on the Mediterranean in Tripoli, reflected Qaddafi's expanding business ties with Europe

and leadership within Africa. For a week surrounding Libya's Sept. 1 national day, El Mahary swarmed with leggy models from Ethiopia and Uganda who were flown in to strut at fashion shows—some televised, some put on just for Qaddafi and his guests.

Around the country, I had heard officials and men in cafés talk of mending relations with America. Such talk seemed to be part of an inevitable eroding of hostilities as Libya normalizes relations with the West. In 1999, Libya turned over suspects in the Lockerbie bombing, and the U.N. suspended sanctions. With only U.S. restrictions remaining, and talks under way to clear those as well, Libya appeared nearly reformed.

Nearly. As affable as Qaddafi's money managers were, they made it clear that their job was to get around the U.S. sanctions. They moved money around the globe through a decentralized network of banks and brokers that often disguised the Libyan origin of the money.

Huwej called the system "financial engineering."

With stakes in 72 companies in more than 45 countries, Libya had succeeded in investing billions of dollars abroad, despite U.S. and U.N. sanctions. Some strategies were simple. The Libyans used shell companies with generic names, such as Agriculture Investment Co. They avoided taking stakes big enough to draw the U.S. Treasury Dept.'s attention.

And there was no mistaking Libya for a free country. The government's investment company appointed me a minder, who became the fixer I didn't want or need. Bashar wasn't always there; I did get out on my own occasionally for talks in Arabic and English with folks in the souk. But mostly he insisted, "as a host," on taking me everywhere I wanted, whether into the Sahara for two days or to a downtown Bedouin restaurant for spicy Libyan meat soup.

On September 11, Bashar took me to the airport, sticking with me until I crossed through passport control. A few minutes later, a news alert flashed on the screen of my Italian cell phone. A plane had flown into the World Trade Center. Not long after, my wife called from her office at the Associated Press in Rome to fill me in. A colleague at Bloomberg's Rome bureau called when the second plane hit. I asked him to hold the line while I got some Libyan reaction for the wire.

There were no televisions in the waiting



**QADDIFI'S MONEY MANAGER:
MOHAMED ALI EL HUWEJ**

lounge, so I had to tell people what had happened. The first person I approached—a duty-free shop saleswoman—smiled when she heard the news. "It's a very good thing because America is a strong country," 29-year-old Hind Hussein said, standing by a rack of French perfume, her hair covered with a silk scarf. "This is against American aggression."

On the quick hop to Rome, there were no announcements about the attacks. The Alitalia flight attendants huddled in the back of the jet and decided not to bring it up. They were glad to be out of Libya but were concerned they were later flying on to Athens, an airport with notoriously bad security.

Back in Rome, I started to reshape my investment story into a war story. Before any bombs fell on Afghanistan, President George W. Bush announced the freezing of terrorist assets. "The front lines will look different from the wars of the past,"

"It's a very good thing..." said one Libyan on September 11. "This is against American aggression"

he said. That meant war reporting would look different, too. While working on the Libya story, I joined other reporters on the terror-money trail.

As friends and colleagues packed for Afghanistan, we interviewed investors and scoured corporate annual reports. Traditional war reporting dovetailed with financial reporting. The Pentagon may have restricted media access to troops, but the business pages burst with stories of Yemeni honey, African diamonds, and Swiss bankers.

Generally, the money-trail stories aimed to show how terrorists fund their activities, and what governments do to block them. In Libya I had learned about a third step: how the terrorists counteract anti-terror measures, just like the ones the U.S. was imposing on Osama bin Laden. There turned out to be a lot in common between al Qaeda's decentralized structure and Qaddafi's financial network.

My story was no longer just a piece about Libya; it was the terror-finance story from the extremists' point of view. Until the attacks, I had missed a key part of story: Despite all the ribbon cuttings, fashion shows, and trade shows taking place in Tripoli (and Lebanon and Iran), terrorism wasn't ancient history.

Although Qaddafi denounced the September attacks, one could argue that he was in no position to talk. The U.S. blames him for sponsoring plots that killed hundreds of people in the 1980s, including the Pan Am bombing and shootings at the Rome and Vienna airports in 1985 that killed 19 people, including the 11-year-old daughter of the AP's Rome news editor.

Qaddafi's money managers weren't just being clever capitalists when they told me about "financial engineering." They were part of the terror-money trail, just like other banks and investors whose connections to terror had been ignored for years. In this new kind of war, the reporting led to their executive suites.

While I was talking to the saleswoman at the airport duty-free shop, I realized that my take on Libya had been off the mark—starting with the Qaddafi wristwatch. I never gave it to my friend. Instead, I stashed it away in my dresser drawer. It was never kitsch. Rather, it was just an odd bit of cult worship from a society that still represents a deep threat to the West and its free institutions.

Silver is a reporter for Bloomberg News in Rome. His dispatch from Libya, published in Bloomberg Markets, won an OPC award this year.

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Scrambling the Reporters

By Ian Johnson



The Wall Street Journal met the terrorism challenge by creating a superbureau that broke down country boundaries

**A TERRORISM SUSPECT IN SPAIN:
THE GLOBAL TERROR STORY
MADE REPORTERS' BEATS
OBSOLETE FOR A WHILE**

Last autumn, Muslim extremist Mohamed Atta seemed to be popping up all over Europe. There were reports that he had visited Spain, frequented the Czech Republic, and might have made a trip or two to the Netherlands.

Our job in the European bureaus of *The Wall Street Journal* was to figure out which of the reports of Atta sightings were accurate. We knew the Egyptian native had been one of the perpetrators of the September 11 terrorist attacks. He had piloted the first plane to hit the World Trade Center and seemed to be the leader of a small terrorist cell whose headquarters had been Hamburg. But we didn't know how much credence to put in reports that he was suddenly, Elvis-like, here, there, and everywhere.

Our paper was able to get a firm handle on his movements, and score a few modest scoops in the process. We did so as part of a group reporting process that involved radically reorganizing our coverage of Europe. At least temporarily, we broke down the old country-based system of bureaus, and a few walls inside our own company, that sometimes kept apart reporters.

Unexpectedly, we got a taste of what was needed to cover the terrorism story by preparing to cover another pan-European story, the introduction of the euro. That's not as dramatic as terrorism, but both stories required foreign correspondents to behave differently. For years, most correspondents have covered one country, or perhaps a few countries, in a region. Terrorism forced us to face the same problem posed by the Continent's new currency: Europe might be divided by political boundaries, but terrorists, like the new currency, could operate fluidly, moving easily from Germany to Britain to France to Spain.

When we were planning to cover the euro last summer, we decided to override the old system of country bureaus by establishing a "virtual bureau" culled from the roughly 60 reporters that *The Journal* has in Europe. They reported to a euro bureau chief, who oversaw the reporters, even though their formal boss was still their country bureau chief. For example, Chris Rhoads in my Germany bureau was seconded to the temporary euro bureau chief, Bob Davis, who worked in Brussels, even though Chris still formally reported to me.

Right after the attacks took place, we moved to set up a similar terrorism bureau, although this time we went much further. I was the bureau chief, and I

oversaw a group of about a dozen reporters working in seven countries, three from my bureau in Germany and nine or so in other countries across Europe. I quickly ran into a problem: There was no way I would have any time to manage the five other reporters in the Germany bureau. What to do? We put our heads together and decided that I would divvy up the five. I gave one of them to our Brussels bureau chief, Davis, who took charge of the European political and diplomatic responses to the attacks, and I handed off the other four reporters to our London bureau chief, Bob Hagerty, who put them to work on stories detailing the



GERMAN POLICE PROBED THE HAMBURG CELL, WHILE THE JOURNAL PUT A MAN ON THE BEAT FULL-TIME

pan-European economic fallout from the attacks. These other bureaus also set up a rough system of triage to cover the beats of reporters who were on my team. We were able to get a London reporter, for example, to cover German banks when that beat's reporter, Marcus Walker in Frankfurt, became our full-time man in Hamburg—the city where the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were planned.

The new system freed me from having to manage, for example, our European Central Bank reporter, and it also gave me the leeway to call up a reporter in France or England without having to go

What Can You Do?

HE WAS SPOTTED IN HAMBURG, PRAGUE, FLORIDA, AND MAINE. AND IF SOMEONE HAD CALLED US, HIS PICTURE WOULDN'T BE SPOTTED IN THIS AD.



He lived among us, attending classes, shopping at the mall, eating pizza, going out now and then with friends. It seemed as though he was nothing special about him.

What might have tipped someone off that something was not right? What might have caused concern?

Was it then he was asking questions about things way out of his area of expertise? Was he seen lurking around, or breaking or pilfering, even though he apparently had no intent for it? Did he say he wanted to know if he'd need to know how to take off and land? That he was interested in cockpit doors—an obviously risky endeavor?—when he couldn't even get a plane off the ground?

Or was it he paid only cash—and plenty of it—for his movies, clothes, and air-line tickets? Or that he had a massive savings account that was not used?

Sometimes you spot things that just don't add up. And then the phone rings. In the last 12 cases in date, people have called or otherwise been in touch with information that led to solving international terrorism or kidnapping cases.

If your tip could make a difference—if you had the power to make September 11th just like any other day—just do it. wouldn't you?

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CONTACT: Your tip of police, the FBI, or the U.S. Embassy or Consulate. CALL: 1-800-US-REWARDS. EMAIL: www.state.gov/rewards. MAIL: U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520. ADDRESS: Your name, address, and telephone number. If possible, attach a recent photo of the suspect. The U.S. government will not release your name or address to law enforcement agencies or to anyone who has not been paid.

Your call or e-mail will be kept strictly confidential.



U.S. Department of State

through the Paris or London bureau chiefs. We had had cross-border stories in the past, of course, but the terrorism story required instant reaction. For the time being, anyway, we had exploded the old system of country bureaus.

We also cut through the business divisions at Dow Jones & Co. to extend our reach. While we have been trying recently to integrate Dow Jones Newswires more closely with *The Journal*, the attacks gave us a perfect excuse to test radically closer co-operation. A young Newswires reporter in Paris, David Gauthier-Villars, joined our Euro-terrorism team, as did a Newswires stringer in Cairo, Mahmoud Kassem, whom we twice flew in to Germany to do interviews with the hijackers' Arab classmates and fellow worshippers at mosques. When the European terrorism trail extended farther afield, we were able to quickly draw on people in more remote cities that don't typically have correspondents—for example, when reports surfaced that some members of the Ham-

burg terrorist cell had fled to Karachi, the new cooperation allowed us to draw instantly on the expertise of Saeed Azhar, a Newswires reporter who normally covers commodities in that Pakistan city. Saeed helped us report a story tracing the flight of one suspected terrorist to Karachi, the city that later, of course, became the focus of correspondent Daniel Pearl's efforts to trace links between Pakistani extremists and al Qaeda.

We kept our Euro-terrorism bureau

together through constant phone calls and, especially, e-mails. We set up several e-mail distribution lists, allowing *The Journal's* reporters to quickly send group e-mails about terrorism-related issues without having to remember all their new colleagues' names—all they had to do was type "euroterror" in the address line and everyone on that beat got the message. This was a great way of passing around terrorist watch lists, proposals for stories, and rough drafts of stories, which colleagues in other countries could easily vet or broaden by adding local reaction or background.

In the case of Atta, everyone shared reports of his pre-September 11 movements with other reporters across Europe. We then bounced the rumors off investigators and tried to determine which ones were most plausible. This system helped us figure out that rumors of Atta's trips to Prague were credible, and it allowed *The Journal's* man there, Rick Jervis, to pursue the story with the confidence that he wasn't wasting his time. After denying that Atta had been in Prague, the Czech government finally admitted that he had

been there—several weeks after we began reporting this. In the face of government obfuscation, we might not have felt confident enough to keep after this story if we hadn't had the Europe-wide team in place, testing the thesis and finding that it was credible.

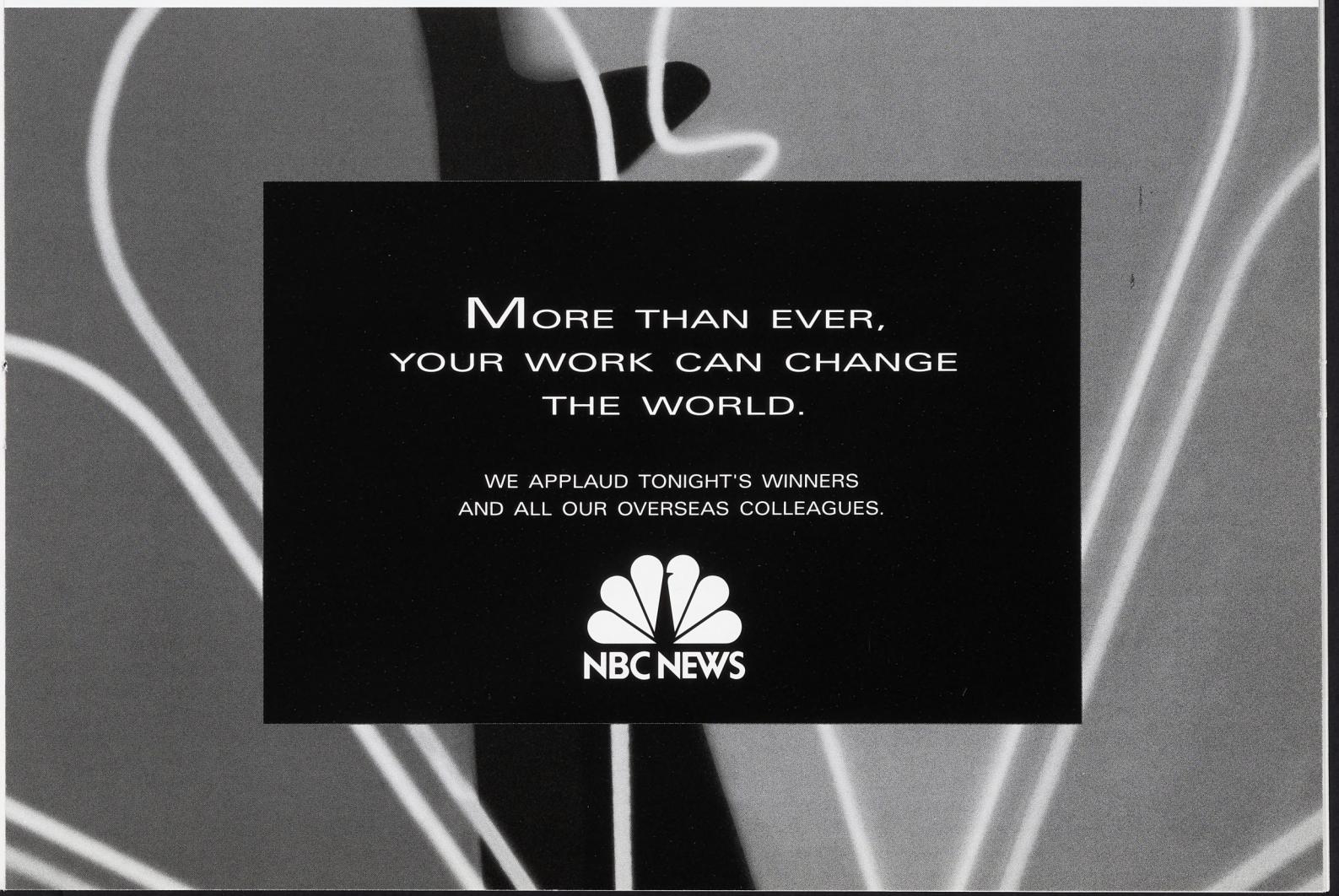
This brings up another tactic that our teamwork made possible. U.S. investigators basically weren't talking too much about their progress, or lack of it, in tracking al Qaeda's activities. We guessed, however, that those investigators were being forced, reluctantly, to share their information with their European allies. Most of those allies kept as mum as their American counterparts. The British, for example, were unbelievably tight-lipped, often blatantly misleading the press. Some German officials, however, feel a duty to keep the public informed, while reporters in Paris, Madrid, and Brussels latched on to a few vain investigators who provided information. We were then able to test theses out in different countries and use the information from one country to get investigators in another to talk—a quid pro quo that's familiar to reporters in

Washington but new to those in Europe.

Toward the end of the year, our senior editors began to remind us of something we had almost forgotten: that pioneer of pan-European coverage—the euro bureau—needed us. Some of the dozen reporters on the terrorism team began to gravitate back to their country bureaus to write about the euro, the sudden recession and the shock waves from the collapse of Enron Corp. Like the investigation in Europe, our euroterrorism bureau slowly wound down.

We still have a pan-European terrorism team, but it's stripped down to a handful of reporters in three countries. I think, though, that the experience has made the old bureau system more flexible and has showed us the future of coverage in Europe—one that, like the Continent's new economy, won't be so much divided along geographic boundaries as along thematic ones, such as capital flow, migration, and, of course, security.

Johnson is The Wall Street Journal's Germany bureau chief and an Overseas Press Club and Pulitzer Prize winning journalist.



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THE WORLD.

WE APPLAUD TONIGHT'S WINNERS
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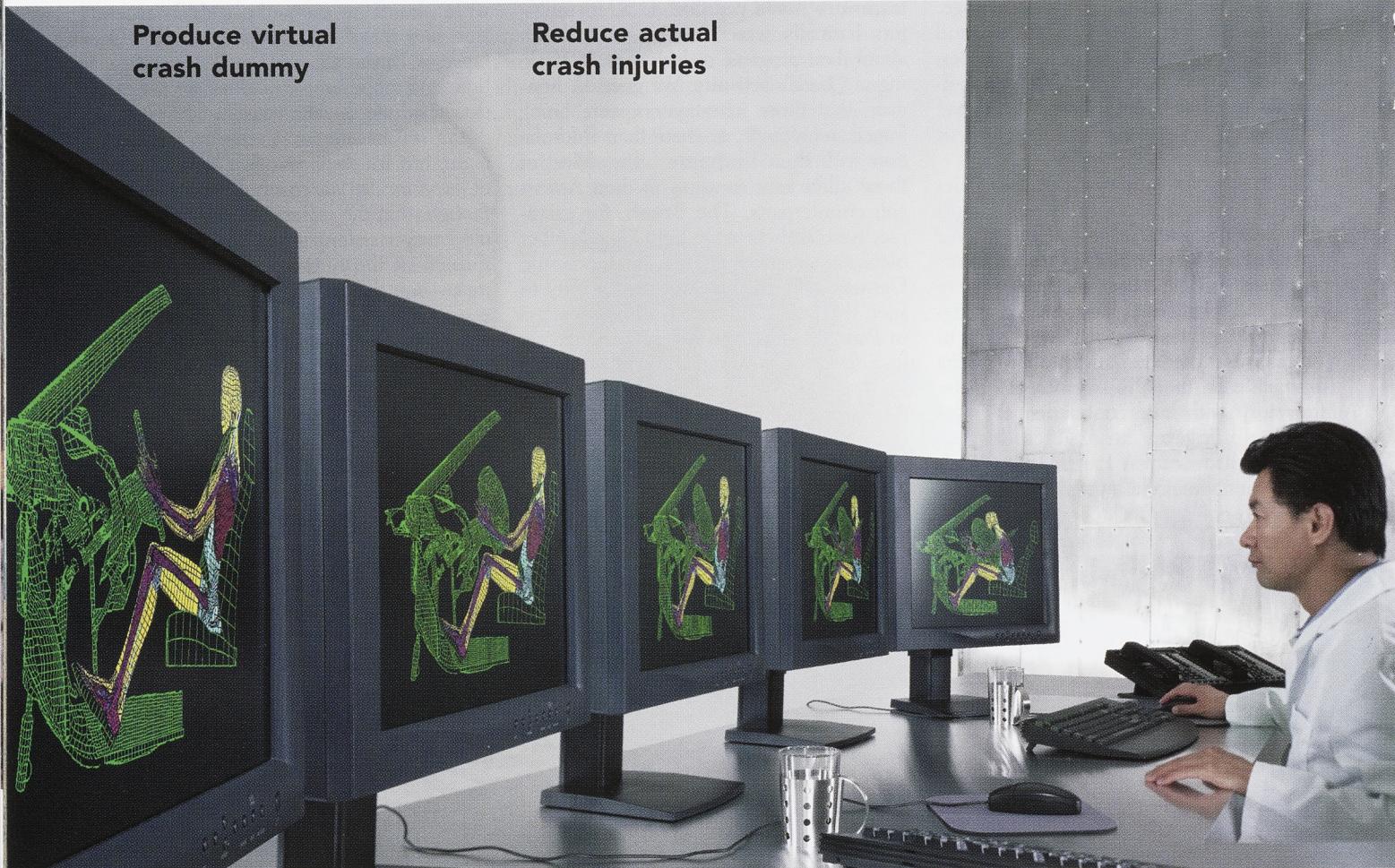
TODAY

Produce virtual
crash dummy

TOMORROW

Reduce actual
crash injuries

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The Overseas Press Club of America ANNUAL AWARDS



By William J. Holstein and John Corporon, Awards Committee Co-Chairs

AS ANYONE WOULD HAVE EXPECTED, THE COMBINATION of September 11 terrorism and the subsequent war in Afghanistan dominated the 2001 Overseas Press Club Awards competition. We received a near-record 448 entries, reflecting an intense year in international news.

Although the terrorist attacks occurred on U. S. soil, the OPC decided to grant one photographic award specifically for that coverage. Several panels of judges also concluded that the assaults were of sufficient import that they deserved recognition in an international competition. Out of 20 awards, nine were directly connected to terrorism or the war against it.

But other parts of the world were not forgotten. Africa didn't dominate the news the way it has in past years, but coverage of that continent still garnered

four awards. Other awards went for reporting on Latin America, international cybercrime, Chinese immigration, and global warming. Judging from our awards, the war on terror dominated the media's coverage, but didn't swamp it.

Terror and its aftermath are topic No. 1, but hardly the only story

Two interesting trends: The judges tended to reward those news organizations that anticipated major events, rather than simply responding to them. And many major awards were won by the entire staff of an organization. When big news breaks, it's teamwork that often counts.

Our thanks to the more than 70 judges who took part in making these decisions, and to the sponsors who support the OPC awards. Together, we are defending and promoting the highest ideals of international journalism.

1. THE HAL BOYLE AWARD

Best newspaper or wire service reporting from abroad

LOS ANGELES TIMES STAFF

"Inside Al Qaeda"

In an extraordinarily prescient dispatch, *The Los Angeles Times* warned about the threat to the U.S. posed by Osama bin Laden six months before the September 11 attacks. By quoting U.S. officials that bin Laden "is at the center of the threats we face over the next few years," it sent a warning that should have been more widely heard.

CITATIONS: Kathy Gannon

Associated Press
"Afghanistan"

The Wall Street Journal Staff
"America's War on Terrorism"

Los Angeles Times

2. THE BOB CONSIDINE AWARD

Best newspaper or wire service interpretation of international affairs

HIAWATHA BRAY

The Boston Globe
"Wiring Africa"

This series, on the quest to bring broad band telecommunications to Africa and its people, is a classic example of interpretative reporting. Bray deftly blended discussions of politics, economics, and international affairs to explain the key role communications can play in economic development.

CITATION: The Wall Street Journal Staff
"A Threat to World Health"



3. THE ROBERT CAPA GOLD MEDAL

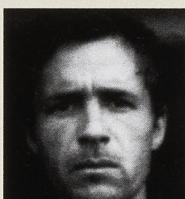
Best published photographic reporting from abroad requiring exceptional courage and enterprise

LUC DELAHAYE

Magnum for Newsweek
"Afghanistan"

The judges were taken by Delahaye's range of subject matter, his commitment to the story, and his keen ability to get close to his subjects under the worst conditions. One image of a rapidly retreating Northern Alliance army unit as it met unexpected enemy fire displayed a painterly quality that transcends the sheer chaos it depicts. Delahaye's work clearly exemplified the courage and enterprise required for the Capa Gold Medal.

CITATION: Tyler Hicks
The New York Times
"Execution on the Road to Kabul"



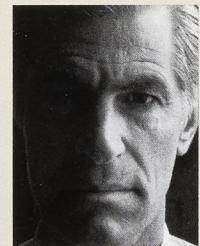
4. THE OLIVIER REBBOT AWARD

Best photographic reporting from abroad in magazines and books

JAMES NACHTWEY

Time
"Crimes Against Humanity"

Despite advances in treating AIDS in much of the world over the past 20 years, the disease remains Africa's most devastating problem, claiming a staggering number of victims every day. In images as horrific as they are metaphorical, James Nachtwey captured a critically important story.



5. THE JOHN FABER AWARD

Best photographic reporting from abroad in newspapers and wire services

CHERYL DIAZ MEYER

The Dallas Morning News
"Unholy War"

The judges were moved by Diaz Meyer's provocative photographic style, which personalized her work in a most compelling way. With a unique perspective, she carefully studied the human condition in a war-torn land.



CITATION: The New York Times Photo Staff

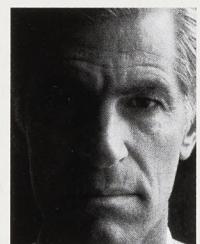
"On the Front Lines: Pakistan to Afghanistan"

SPECIAL SEPTEMBER 11th PHOTO AWARD

JAMES NACHTWEY

VII for Time
"Shattered"

James Nachtwey's storied ability to capture the emotions behind the events he photographs made him the perfect photographer for the catastrophic events surrounding the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center. In a collection of searing images, he unwaveringly put together an album of horror while also facing great personal risk.



CITATIONS: The New York Times Photo Staff
"September 11th"

Robert Clark
Aurora for Time
"September 11th"

6. THE LOWELL THOMAS AWARD

Best radio news or interpretation of international affairs

NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO STAFF

"September 11th and the World Reacts"



NPR's coverage provided on-the-scene reporting and worldwide perspective on the war against Islamic terrorism. The coverage explored subjects ranging from the motivation of extremist students to the lessons of the earlier Russian defeat in Afghanistan to the threat posed by Pakistan's nuclear arsenal. These reports provided invaluable insight at a time when listeners needed it most.

CITATION: Sandy Toolan

Homelands Productions for NPR & American RadioWorks
"Roots of Resentment in the Arab World"

7. THE DAVID KAPLAN AWARD

Best TV spot news reporting from abroad

CNN STAFF

"September 11th Coverage"



CNN's coverage exemplified spot TV news reporting at its zenith. Beginning just minutes after the first plane crashed into the World Trade Center, CNN told its worldwide audience what its reporters knew as soon as they learned it, pushing ahead for as many details from as many sources as possible. CNN's coverage had emotional content as well, eloquently expressing what viewers were feeling as the shocking events unfolded. CNN drew upon reporting from their team in New York, Washington, and bureaus around the world, displaying energy and enterprise in the face of disaster.

CITATION: Martin Fletcher, Jim Macea, Keith Miller

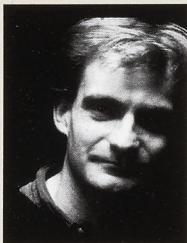
NBC Nightly News
"Middle East: War Without End"

8. THE EDWARD R. MURROW AWARD

Best TV interpretation or documentary on international affairs

**SAIRA SHAH,
DAVID HENSHAW,
CASSIAN HARRISON,
JAMES MILLER,
VIVIAN SCHILLER,
JENNIFER HYDE**

*CNN Productions/Channel 4
International/Hardcash Productions*
"Beneath the Veil"



HARRISON

This account of an Afghan-Briton's daring attempt to learn

about her father's homeland was chosen for its courageous infiltration of Taliban-run Afghanistan. The story was produced months before the U.S. war on terror began. In constant peril, the production team secretly recorded life under the Taliban, even continuing to tape with hidden cameras during two brief detentions. The team's deep research, networking with secret resistance groups, and use of dramatic amateur footage elevated this personal story to an outstanding documentary, enriched by the sensitivity of reporter Saira Shah.



MILLER, SHAH



SCHILLER

CITATIONS: BBC America

"Afghanistan: The Fall of Kabul"

Lisa Hsia, John Reiss

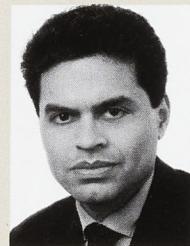
NBC News – Dateline
"The Roots of Rage"

9. THE ED CUNNINGHAM MEMORIAL

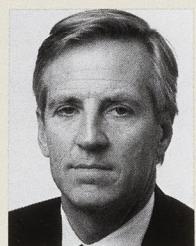
Best magazine reporting from abroad

**FAREED ZAKARIA,
EVAN THOMAS,
MICHAEL HIRSH,
COLIN SOLOWAY,
AND NEWSWEEK TEAM**

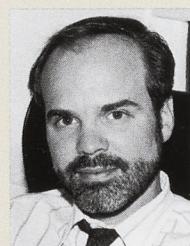
"Global Terrorism" and
"American Taliban"



ZAKARIA



THOMAS



HIRSH

The *Newsweek* team showed prescience in identifying the Al Qaeda threat half a year before September 11. The coverage reconstructed the terrorists' trail and was insightful in explaining the cultural gap between the West and Islam. Colin Soloway's online articles were excellent, introducing the world to John Walker Lindh, the American Taliban.



SOLOWAY

CITATIONS: John Lee Anderson

The New Yorker
"Reports from Afghanistan"

Blaine Harden

The New York Times Magazine
"Dr. Matthew's Passion"



Special September 11th Photo Award

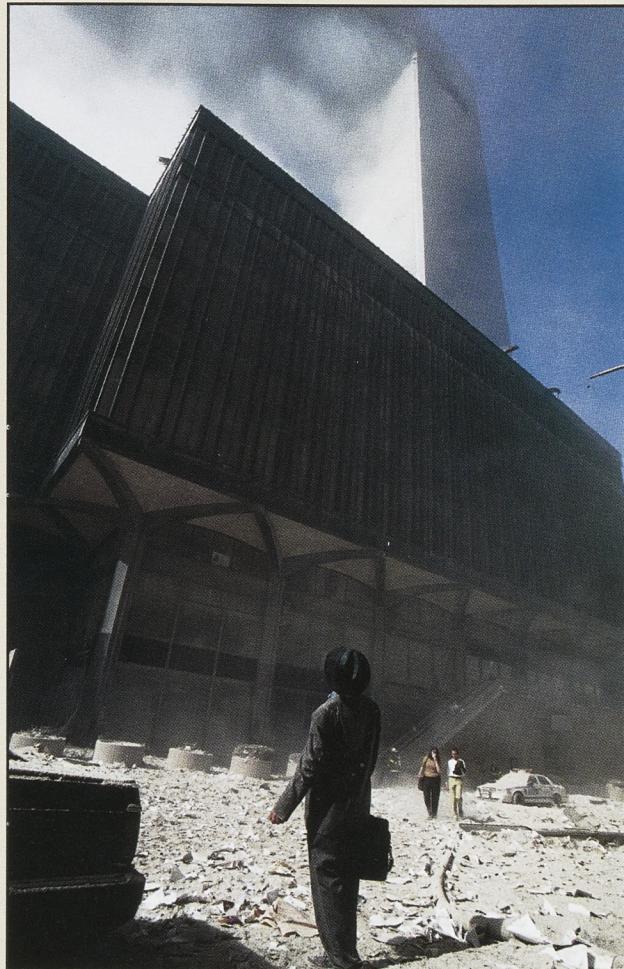
JAMES NACHTWEY

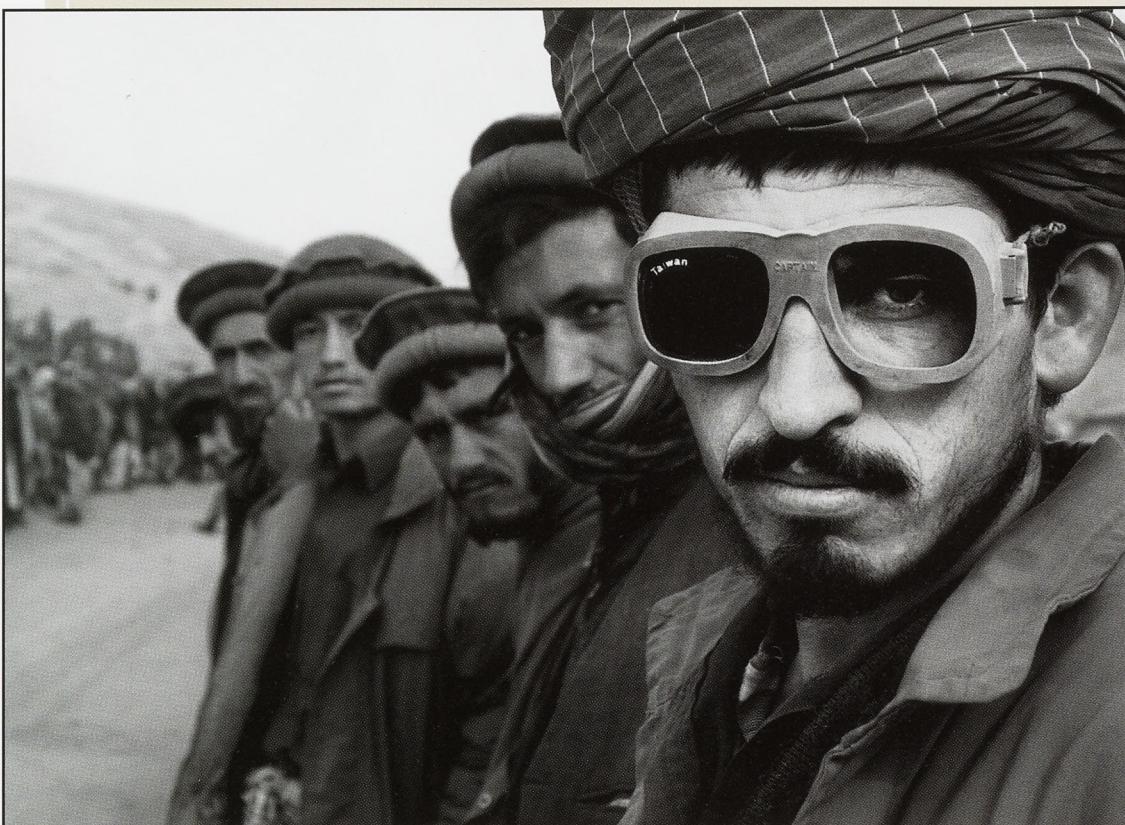
CLOCKWISE FROM ABOVE: NEW YORK CITY
FIREFIGHTERS AND OTHER RESCUE WORKERS PICK
THEIR WAY THROUGH THE MOUNDS OF CONCRETE AND
TWISTED STEEL GIRDERS THAT HAD BEEN THE WORLD

TRADE CENTER TOWERS; RESCUERS HELP STUNNED
SURVIVORS THROUGH THE DEBRIS-STREWN STREETS OF
LOWER MANHATTAN; A BUSINESSMAN PAUSES TO WATCH
ONE OF THE TRADE CENTER TOWERS, ITS UPPER



FLOORS IN FLAMES, SHORTLY BEFORE IT COLLAPSES;
FIREFIGHTERS SCRAMBLE TO CONTAIN THE FIRES AND
UNDERTAKE RESCUE OPERATIONS EVEN AS THE TOWERS
COLLAPSE AROUND THEM

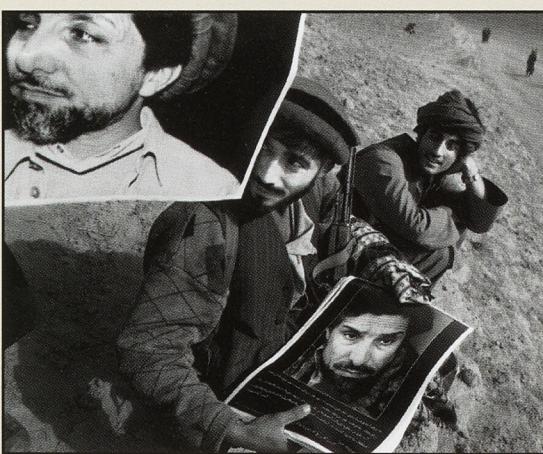




The John Faber Award

CHERYL DIAZ MEYER

LEFT: A REBEL AND HIS COMRADES WATCH AS TALIBAN SOLDIERS SURRENDER BEFORE A NORTHERN ALLIANCE ATTACK ON KHANABAD AND KUNDUZ, THE LAST TALIBAN-CONTROLLED CITIES IN NORTHERN AFGHANISTAN



ABOVE LEFT: A TALIBAN CAPTIVE JUST BEFORE HE IS KILLED; LEFT: REBEL SOLDIERS IN KUNDUZ WITH POSTERS OF MARTYRED LEADER AHMED MAHSOOD; ABOVE: THE NORTHERN ALLIANCE ROLLS IN TO KUNDUZ



“A good company delivers
excellent products and services;
a great one delivers excellent
products and services
and strives to make the world
a better place.”

BILL FORD – CHAIRMAN AND CEO, FORD MOTOR COMPANY

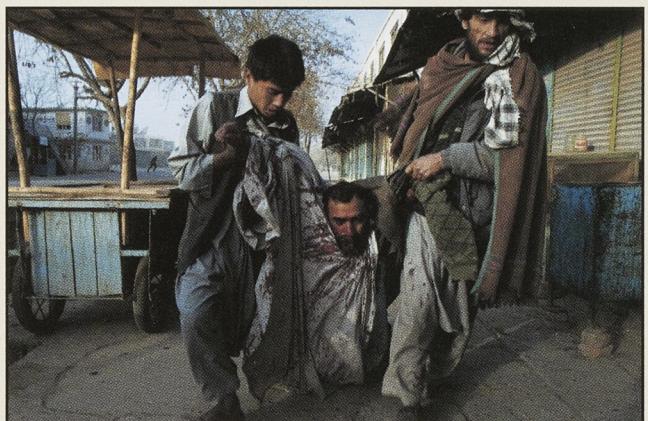
Ford Motor Company
www.ford.com



The Robert Capa Gold Medal Award

LUC DELAHAYE

CLOCKWISE FROM ABOVE: A HANDFUL OF TALIBAN SOLDIERS NEGOTIATE THEIR SURRENDER IN KABUL; NORTHERN ALLIANCE FORCES ADVANCING ON KABUL BEAT A RETREAT AFTER BEING AMBUSHED BY TALIBAN FORCES; HAND-TO-HAND COMBAT IN KUNDUZ; A DEAD TALIBAN SOLDIER IN THE CENTER OF KABUL; A NORTHERN ALLIANCE SOLDIER AND A BOY CARRY A FATALLY WOUNDED COMRADE IN KUNDUZ; FIGHTING AMID THE DEFECTION OF TALIBAN SOLDIERS IN THE VILLAGE OF AMIR ABAD, NEAR KUNDUZ





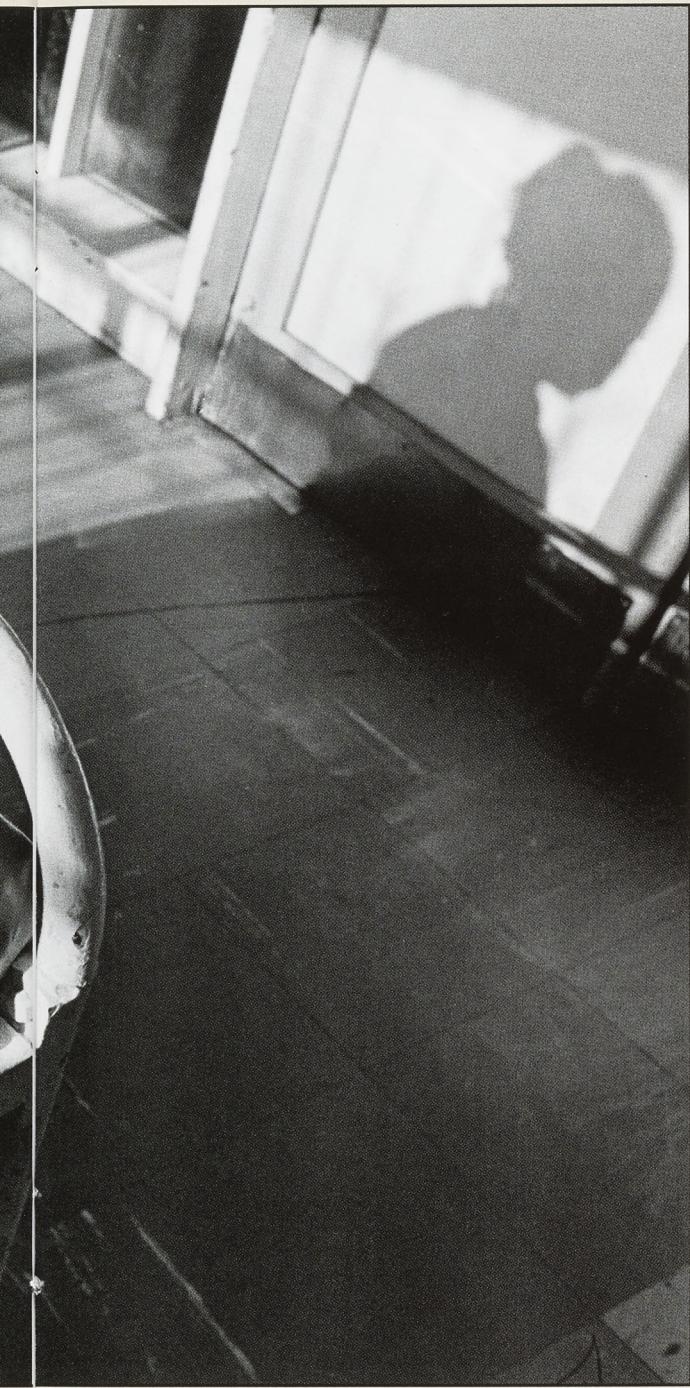


The Olivier Rebbot Award

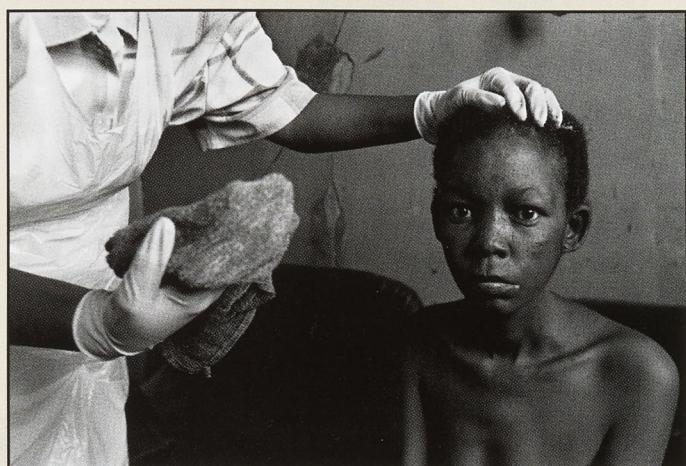
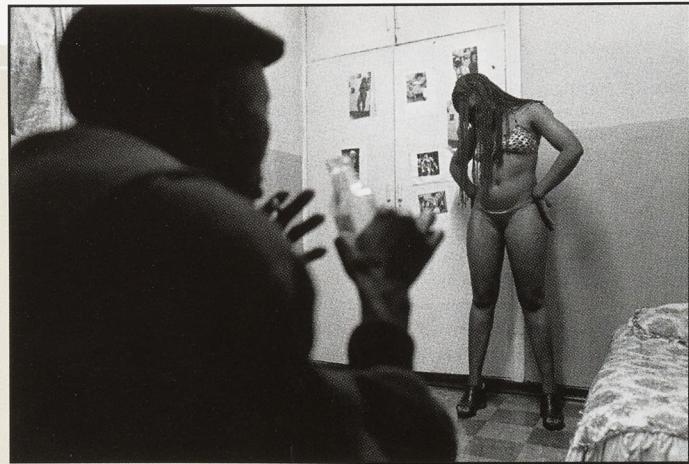
JAMES NACHTWEY

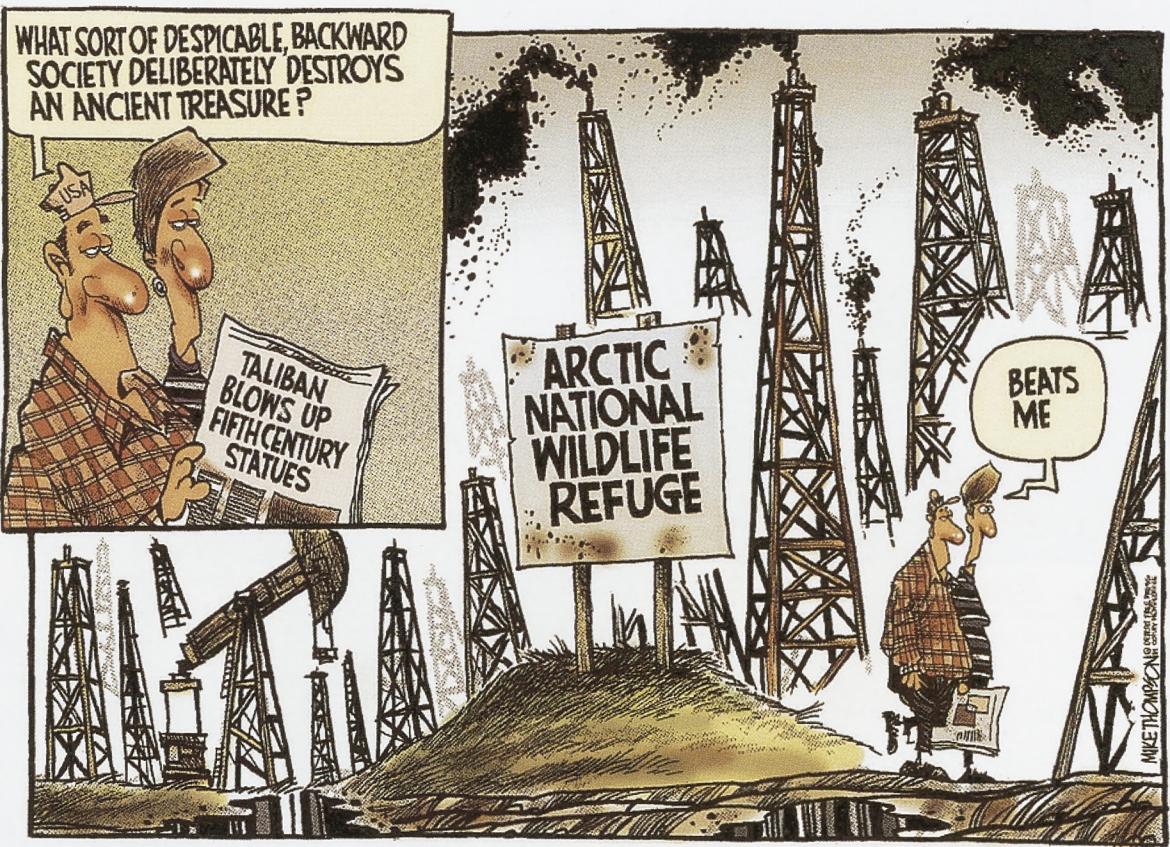
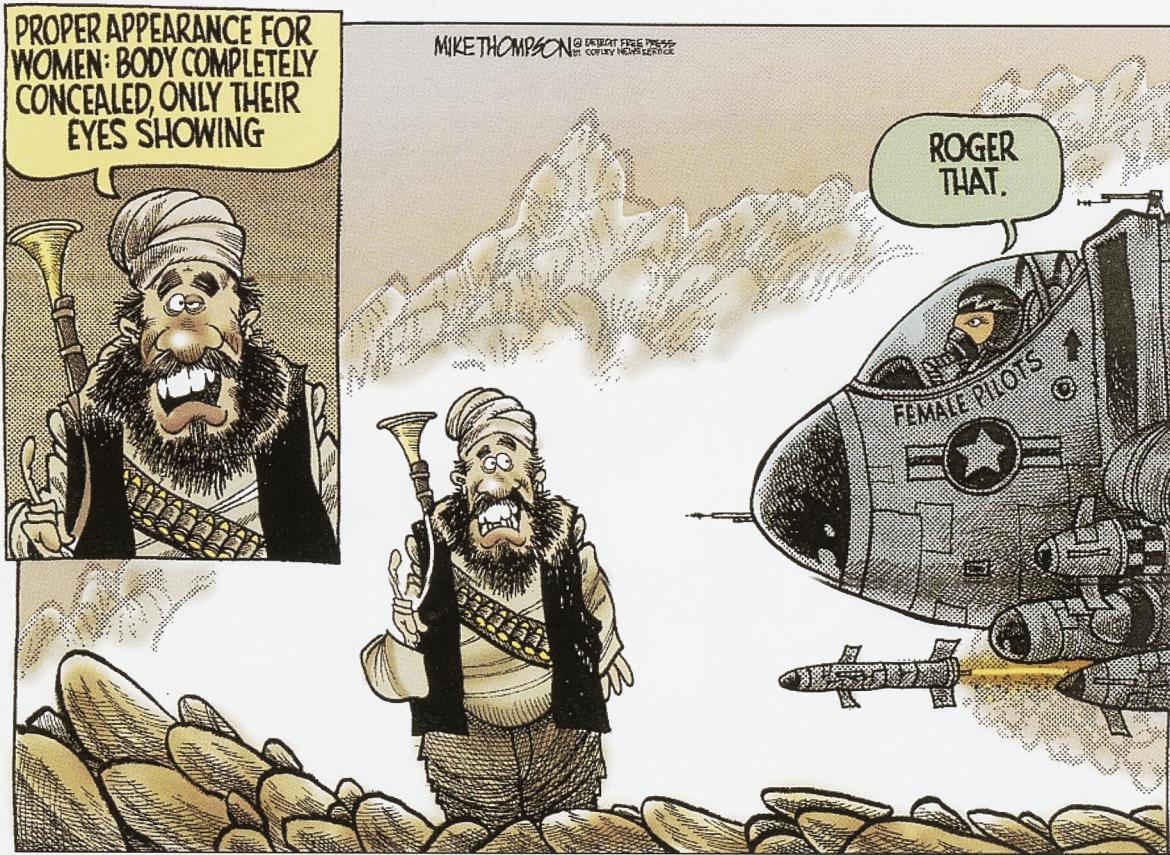
CLOCKWISE FROM ABOVE: WORKERS WRAP THE CORPSE OF AN AIDS VICTIM AT THE BEATRICE ROAD INFECTIOUS DISEASES HOSPITAL IN HARARE; A PROSTITUTE IN A HARARE BROTHEL, PART OF A THRIVING, THOUGH

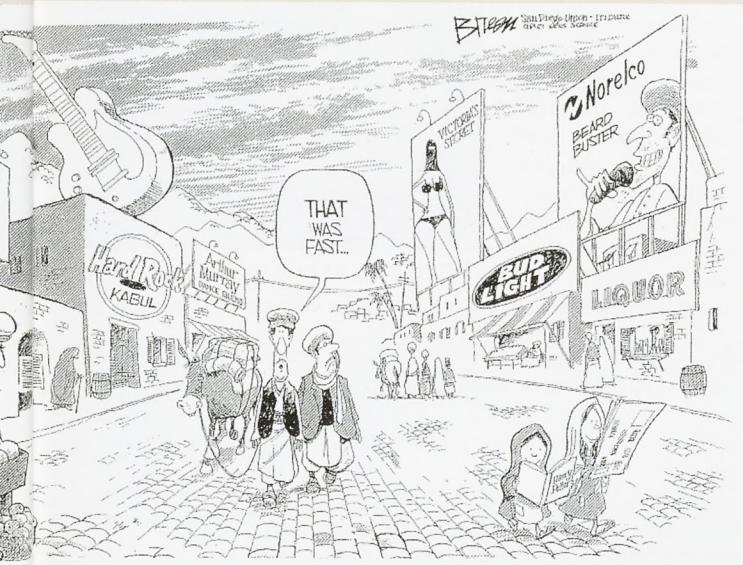
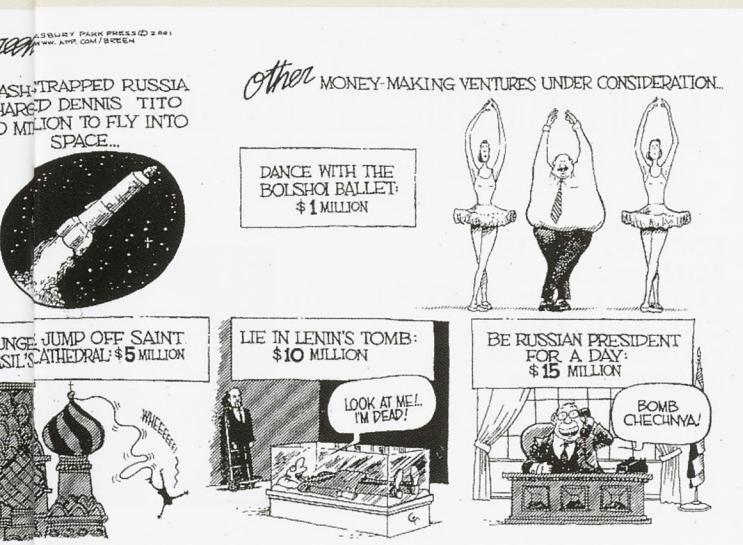
ILLEGAL, CULTURE OF PROSTITUTION IN ZIMBABWE THAT SPREADS HIV; A NURSE TENDS TO AN AIDS SUFFERER IN A ZIMBABWE HOSPICE; A SICK MAN WALKS UNSTEADILY FROM THE SHOWER IN A HARARE



HOSPITAL—SOON HE WILL HAVE TO BE CLEANED BY
NURSES; A 28-YEAR-OLD WOMAN LEAVES HER
THREE CHILDREN TO ENTER A HOME FOR DYING
AIDS PATIENTS







10. THE THOMAS NAST AWARD

Best cartoons on international affairs

MIKE THOMPSON

Detroit Free Press



Mike Thompson's cartoons captured the acute emotional state of participants in overseas conflicts with biting humor. From the strife-torn Middle East to the tragedy of September 11, Thompson found a delicate balance between gravity and wit. And he was uncompromising—his comparison of President Bush's environmental policy with the Taliban's religious xenophobia being just one vivid example.

CITATION: Steve Breen

The San Diego Union-Tribune

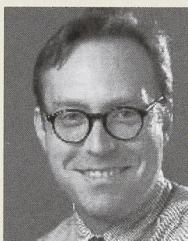
11. THE MORTON FRANK AWARD

Best business reporting from abroad
in magazines

VERNON SILVER

Bloomberg Markets

"Inside Qaddafi's Financial Web"



This story opens the reader to the global financial affairs of one of the world's longest-ruling despots and suspected terrorist sponsors, Colonel Muammar Qaddafi of Libya. This work offered penetrating reporting and writing about a ruler's empire that has long fascinated journalists but largely eluded their examination—until now.

CITATION: Dexter T. Roberts

BusinessWeek

"China: Fighting the State"

12. THE MALCOM FORBES AWARD

Best business reporting from abroad
in newspapers or wire services

JANE BUSSEY, ANDRES OPPENHEIMER, PAUL BRINKLEY-ROGERS

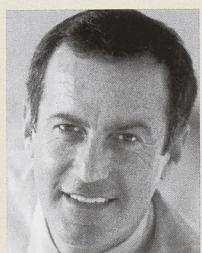
The Miami Herald
"Argentine Recession"

The *Miami Herald*'s coverage of the collapse of Argentina's government and economy was impressive for its breadth and level of commitment. The paper's series of stories on the meltdown actually began a full nine months before the government

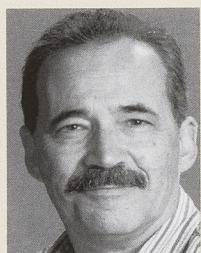


BUSSEY

default and devaluation. When it came, the *Herald's* reporters were on the scene to provide detailed coverage of violence in the streets, the economic debates, and the toll on the country's population.



OPPENHEIMER



BRINKLEY-ROGERS

CITATION: *The Plain Dealer Staff*
"Fiery Rivals"

13. THE CARL SPIELVOGEL AWARD

Best business reporting from abroad in the broadcast media

**ERIN MORIARTY,
SUSAN ZIRINSKY,
PETER SCHWEITZER,
MIGUEL SANCHO**

CBS News – 48 Hours
"Cybercrime: The Global Prosperity Story"



LEFT TO RIGHT: SCHWEITZER, ZIRINSKY, MORIARTY, SANCHO

This investigative report revealed how a fraudulent offshore organization called the Institute for Global Prosperity used the Internet to lure potential investors to seminars where they were bilked out of their life savings with promises of 250% rates of return. *48 Hours* penetrated the IGP seminars with hidden cameras to document conclusively how the organization not only cheated these investors but also encouraged them to violate U.S. tax laws. A few weeks after the broadcast, the IRS raided the homes of the IGP founders. Federal indictments are expected soon.

CITATION: *Adam Smith Global Television*
"Adam Smith: Russia—Threat or Promise?"

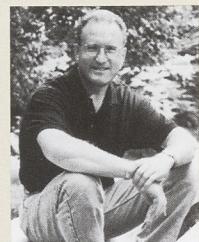
14. THE CORNELIUS RYAN AWARD

Best nonfiction book on international affairs

MARK BOWDEN

Grove/Atlantic

"Killing Pablo: The Hunt for the World's Greatest Outlaw"



This book is a page-turning account of the hunt to track down and kill a South American drug lord. *Killing Pablo* combines the verve of a thriller with on-the-record testimony from people who were in the middle of the action. It tells the story of how one man, Pablo Escobar, destroyed thousands of lives and very nearly Colombia itself in the 1980s and early 1990s. It took the coordinated efforts of the American and Colombian governments, and the work of death squads that matched Pablo's own forces for brutality, to bring him down.

CITATION: *Sam Quinones*

University of New Mexico Press
"True Tales From Another Mexico"

15. THE MADELINE DANE ROSS AWARD

Best international reporting in any medium showing a concern for the human condition

**SORIOUS SAMURA,
RON McCULLAGH,
ELIZABETH GROUND,
DOLLAN CANNELL,
VIVIAN SCHILLER,
JENNIFER HYDE**

*CNN Productions and
Insight News Television*
"Return to Freetown" and
"Exodus from Africa"



SCHILLER

The award went to a pair of documentaries. In "Return to Freetown" Sorious Samura captured the aftermath of a horrific civil war in Sierra Leone, while in "Exodus from Africa" he told the tale of refugees from Africa who search, mostly in vain, for passage to Europe and the possibility of living the immigrant's dream.



McCULLAGH, SAMURA

CITATIONS: *Barry Bearak*

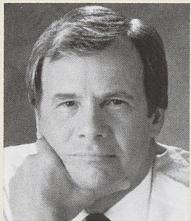
The New York Times
"Reports from South Asia"

Matthew McAllester

Newsday
"In the Crossfire"

16. THE ERIC AND AMY BURGER AWARD

Best international reporting in the broadcast media dealing with human rights



TOM BROKAW

TOM BROKAW
ELIZABETH COLE
MONICA LEAS
MARC ROSENWASSER
NEAL SHAPIRO
SAM SINGAL

NBC News - Dateline
“The Promised Land”

“The Promised Land” shed important new light on the flow of illegal Chinese immigrants to the U.S. Narrated by Tom Brokaw, the documentary describes the fate of the Chinese refugees aboard the Golden Venture, the smuggling ship that ran aground in New York harbor in 1993. Those who came to the U.S. seeking freedom were instead jailed for years. The report documents the refugees’ flight from China, the voyage many did not survive, indefinite detention in American prisons, and the effort of American citizens to free them.

CITATION: Tom Jarriel and Joanna Breen

ABC News – 20/20
“Empty Arms”

15. THE JOE & LAURIE DINE AWARD

Best international reporting in a print medium dealing with human rights

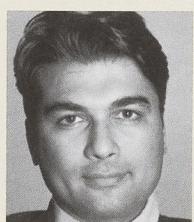
SUMANA CHATTERJEE,
SUDARSHAN RAGHAVAN,
TISH WELLS

Knight Ridder Washington Bureau
“A Taste of Slavery”

At a time when many newspapers avoid challenging advertisers, the Knight Ridder team confronted an entire class of potential advertisers—makers of chocolate candy—in “A Taste of Slavery.” This was a hard-news account of the institutionalization of slavery in the Ivory Coast. There, boys as young as 12 work 14 to 18 hours a day gathering cocoa beans that are sold to chocolate manufacturers around the world. Since publication, the manufacturers have allocated money to survey the extent of child slavery in the Ivory Coast and the U.S. House of Representatives has voted to require labeling of chocolate products assuring that slave labor



CHATTERJEE



RAGHAVAN



WELLS

was not employed. The team questioned 18 chocolate confectioners, ranging from Nestlé to Ben & Jerry’s, about their possible use of slave-gathered cocoa beans.

CITATION: Richard C. Paddock

Los Angeles Times
“Uncovering Pockets of Savagery”

18. THE WHITMAN BASSOW AWARD

Best reporting in any medium on international environmental issues

JEFFREY KLUGER,
MICHAEL LEMONICK

Time
“Global Warming”



KLUGER



LEMONICK

Time magazine’s special report on climate change synthesizes the latest scientific evidence on the world’s deadly dependence on fossil fuels. “Except for nuclear war or a collision with an asteroid, no force has more potential to damage our planet’s web of life than global warming,” the authors conclude. A separate story examines the U.S. decision to walk away from nine years of international negotiations and how it, alone among nations, abandoned the 1997 Kyoto treaty limiting the emission of greenhouse gases.

CITATION: Fred Guterl and Eve Conant with
Stefan Theil, William Ide, Antonia Francis
Newsweek
“The Wasteland: Russia’s Nuclear Waste Plan”

19. THE ROBERT SPIERS BENJAMIN AWARD

Best reporting in any medium on Latin America

JOHN OTIS

The Houston Chronicle
“Rebel Held”

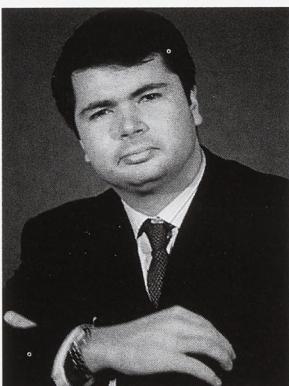
One of several excellent entries on the civil war in Colombia, *The Houston Chronicle*’s special section was the jury’s choice because it described the FARC guerrillas, their activities, their dealings with the narcotic smugglers, and their ideology (or lack of it). Otis wrote clearly and comprehensively about the history and background of the conflict, the life of the people, the rebel camps and the *despacho*, the rebels’ name for their autonomous zone. Otis’ reporting was enterprising, arduous, and involved great personal risk.

CITATION: Scott Wilson

The Washington Post
“Colombia”

20. THE ARTYOM BOROVIK AWARD

For outstanding reporting by a Russian journalist who displays courage, insight, balanced yet aggressive reporting, and independence of thought



BOROVIK

VITALY CHERKASOV

Effekt

Investigative Reporting on Crime, Corruption, and Injustice in the far eastern region of Chita

Kids who bullied and targeted their schoolmates for extortion but got no more than a slap on the wrist. A drunken driver who killed an 18-year-old girl but served only seven months in jail because a friend was the deputy district attorney. Soldiers who sold supplies from their army post in a neighboring village in exchange for vodka—and beat up villagers who objected to the practice. These are only a sampling of Cherkasov's remarkable body of work, which exposed corruption, injustice, and social ills in his hometown of Chita, a city of 320,000, located 2,760 miles east of Moscow. Cherkasov's newspaper, the weekly *Effekt*, is itself a fine representative of the Russian regional press, keeping its readers well informed about often-uncomfortable social issues.

The prize awarded to Cherkasov is named for Artyom Borovik, who was one of the earliest and boldest practitioners of *glasnost* (openness) in Mikhail Gorbachev's Soviet Union in the 1980s. Borovik, who won an Overseas Press Club award in 1991 for a 60 Minutes segment on a Soviet lab where the brains of Vladimir Lenin and other Soviet heroes were stored, was relentless in exposing the malfeasance, corruption, and dirty secrets of Russian officials. He was best known for his critical reporting—while in his 20s—from Afghanistan during the Soviet occupation. He died tragically in a plane crash in 1999 at the age of 39.

CITATION: Mikhail Markelov

Moscow Channel 3

"Our Secret Version: Reports from Somalia"



One World.

General Motors is proud to salute this year's award recipients. In a world that is constantly changing, with risks inherent at every turn, the pursuit of truth and meaning has never been more vital. We are especially pleased to stand with the Overseas Press Club, which continues to foster professionalism and integrity for journalists in every corner of the globe.

CHEVROLET

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The Award Sponsors & Judges

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THE HAL BOYLE AWARD

Alex Taylor, *Fortune*; Jerry Flint, *Forbes*; Sheridan Prasso, *BusinessWeek*

King Features Syndicate

THE BOB CONSIDINE AWARD

William Glasgall, *Investment Advisor Magazine*; Kit Roane, *U.S. News & World Report*; David Schlesinger, *Reuters*

Time & Life Magazines

THE ROBERT CAPA GOLD MEDAL AWARD

Vincent Alabiso, Associated Press; James Dooley, *Newsday*; Sheryl Mendez, *U.S. News & World Report*; Larry Nylund, *The Journal News* (Westchester); Margaret O'Connor, *The New York Times*

Newsweek

THE OLIVIER REBBOT AWARD

Vincent Alabiso, Associated Press; James Dooley, *Newsday*; Larry Nylund, *The Journal News* (Westchester); Margaret O'Connor, *The New York Times*

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Vincent Alabiso, Associated Press; Sue Brisk, Magnum; Sarah Harbutt, *Newsweek*; Sheryl Mendez, *U.S. News & World Report*; Larry Nylund, *The Journal News* (Westchester); Michele Stephenson, *Time*

Overseas Press Club

Special September 11th Award

Vincent Alabiso, Associated Press; Sue Brisk, Magnum; James Dooley, *Newsday*; Sarah Harbutt, *Newsweek*; Sheryl Mendez, *U.S. News & World Report*; Larry Nylund, *The Journal News* (Westchester)

ABC

THE LOWELL THOMAS AWARD

David Alpern, *Newsweek*; John Dominis, *Time-Life* (retired); Anne Hollister, *Time-Life* (retired); Ron Scherer, *The Christian Science Monitor*

Verizon

THE DAVID KAPLAN AWARD

Alexis Gelber, *Newsweek*; Robert Dowling, *BusinessWeek*; Michael Glennon, *Bloomberg News*; Jacqueline Albert-Simon, *Politique Internationale*

CBS

THE EDWARD R. MURROW AWARD

Bob Sullivan, freelance journalist; Cordelia Dietrich, independent producer; John Houseman, *WPIX*; Christina Summers, *WPIX*

Ford Motor Company

THE ED CUNNINGHAM MEMORIAL AWARD

Marcus Brauchli, *The Wall Street Journal*; Ed Jackson, *World Press Review* (retired); Nicholas Kristof, *The New York Times*

Newsday

THE THOMAS NAST AWARD

Jim Impoco, *Fortune*; Jeffrey Bartholet, *Newsweek*; Ed Robinson, *Bloomberg Markets*

Merrill Lynch

THE MORTON FRANK AWARD

Allan Dodds Frank, *CNN*; Joe Connolly, *Wall Street Journal Radio*; Richard Greenberg, *Dateline NBC*; Barbara Rudolph, *Institutional Investor*

Forbes Magazine

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Deidre Depke, *Newsweek*; Wally Konrad, *Money Magazine*; Geoff Lewis, *Primedia Business Magazines*

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The Madeline Dane Ross Fund

THE MADELINE DANE ROSS AWARD

Jane Ciabattari, *Parade*; Dakila Divina, *Parade*; Yvonne Dunleavy, author/journalist; Ian Williams, *The Nation*

The Estate of Eric and Amy Burger

THE ERIC AND AMY BURGER AWARD

Pete Engardio, *BusinessWeek*; Maggie Farley, *Los Angeles Times*; Claudia Rosett, *The Wall Street Journal*; Minky Worden, *Human Rights Watch*

Philip and Kim Dine

THE ERIC AND AMY BURGER AWARD

Reese Schonfeld, *Beauchamp Place Communications*; Dick Birgheim, *Time*; Les Brown, *The New York Times* (retired); David Laventhal, *Columbia Journalism Review*; Bill Small, *CBS & NBC News* (retired)

AT&T

THE WHITMAN BASSOW AWARD

Lamar Graham, *Parade*; Mark Robichaux, journalist; Emily Smith, author/journalist

Robert Spiers Benjamin

THE ROBERT SPIERS BENJAMIN AWARD

Jeremy Main, *Fortune* (retired); Roger Cohen, *The New York Times*; Jorge Covarrubias, Associated Press; Mike Cowan, *NBC—The Today Show*; Cristina Lindblad, *BusinessWeek*

CBS and U.S. News & World Report

THE ARTYOM BOROVIK AWARD

In Moscow: Christian Caryl, *Newsweek*; Beth Knobel, *CBS*; Sabrina Tavernise, *The New York Times*. In New York: Rose Brady, *BusinessWeek*; Patricia Kranz, *BusinessWeek*; Jonathan Sanders, veteran *CBS Moscow* correspondent; Steven Shabad, *Newsweek*

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MUD, ROCKS,
AND DESPAIR:
STUCK IN
A NORTHERN
AFGHANISTAN
REFUGEE CAMP

Dateline

Island of Misery

Thousands of Afghan refugees, driven from their villages by the Taliban, are still stuck in a dusty no-man's-land near the Tajikistan border

By Paul Starobin

Sometimes at night, when my sleep is fitful, their gaunt faces drift back to me. It has been months since I saw them, but something, it seems, is still being asked of me. Their lips make no sound, but their eyes beseech me. My nocturnal companions are a group of Afghan refugees whom I visited last October, just after the U.S. launched its military campaign in Afghanistan. They were living in squalid conditions on a small, dusty island on the Pyanzh River in a kind of no-man's-land between the official borders of Afghanistan and Tajikistan. Driven out of their native northern Afghanistan villages by the Taliban, they were waiting, hoping to return home. The question was whether the U.S. campaign would give them that opportunity.

Dushanbe, Oct. 11. My day begins just before dawn at the Hotel Tajikistan, 200 miles from the river camps, in the capital of this former republic of the Soviet Union. The Soviet-style cinder-block architecture is blessedly relieved by the pink-and-white rose bushes that line the central avenues.

Correspondents from the world over,

some veteran scribes of the wars in the former Yugoslavia, have descended on the hotel as a base for coverage of the new conflict in Central Asia. It's also a popular hangout for Russian soldiers stationed in Tajikistan, who are said to deposit bullets into the barroom ceiling during especially exuberant moments of drunken revelry.

The place is clean, but nothing works particularly well—not just the phones (no surprise) but also (sigh) the showers, which emit equal portions of brown sludge and water. Still, at \$50 a night, it's the best Dushanbe—a poor city in one of the poorest places in the former Soviet Union—has to offer. And from the balcony outside my room, I'm having no problems dialing up my editors in New York on my spiffy satellite phone, rented for the occasion with a \$3,000 cash-only deposit from a supplier in Moscow busy filling the orders of Central Asia-bound reporters.

Having resolved to steer clear of the hotel's food—some tenants say they've gotten sick from bad eggs—I prepare instant coffee in my room and munch dry granola mix. Now this to ponder: Should I take my anti-malaria pills, urged on me by a Moscow doctor? The problem is that the pills often cause stomach upset as a side effect. (I had already rejected another line of malaria medicine apparently capable of bringing on bad hallucinogenic dreams.) Nah, I'll just bring my bug repellent.

Downstairs wait my driver and translator/fixer, who have agreed to the day's journey for a combined \$300, petrol included. With \$2,500 in cash tucked into a hidden pocket sewn into my jeans by my Moscow cleaning woman—credit cards aren't widely in use in this patch of the world—I can handle that. Konstantine, the fixer, is in his spare time a guitarist in a popular local rock band, and he dresses like one of the Bee Gees. With his long, flowing tresses, he certainly stands out in Dushanbe, a place yet to exhibit the bohemian culture of a Moscow, London, or New York. But that's O.K., since everyone, from the Tajik customs officials to teenage music fans, seems to know and like him.

Next stop: headquarters of the Russian army's 201st Motorized Div. in Dushanbe. Despite the Soviet Union's breakup in 1991, Russian troops have never left, and



CRUEL FATE: MANY OF THE REFUGEES' VILLAGES WERE DESTROYED BY THE TALIBAN

a weak Tajikistan government—power is shared between Islamic leaders and former communists who fought a civil war in the mid-1990s—is in no position to push them out. We need the division's permission to visit the camps, located just outside a Russian border-guard station. And to assure our passage through remote roads maintained by numerous police checkpoints, we are allotted an armed guard, a slim Russian fellow who squeezes into the backseat. Our party is also joined by a friend of Konstantine's, a local cameraman for a Moscow-based TV station.

Forty-five minutes out of Dushanbe, the road leading south to the Afghan border winds through gigantic, oddly shaped outcroppings of brown clay, like something a child might produce from a pile of sand (or a modern artist might offer as an abstract sculpture). This surreal passage opens to a fertile plain in which begins the real Tajikistan, countryside far removed from the country's Russified urban capital. It's a patchwork of rural villages with traditions powerfully influenced by the invasions of centuries past—first the Persians in 500 B.C. and then the Arab crusaders for Islam in about 650 A.D.

The main language is Tajik, a dialect of

Farsi, not Russian. We drive by boys on horseback tending cows and sheep in the fields. Women adorned with colorful scarves carry large wrapped packages on their heads; old men on bicycles peddle by them.

In a country where the average wage is \$10 per month, the challenge is survival. Still, the outdoor bazaar in the roadside town of Kolhozobad, luring shoppers with Persian music blaring on a loudspeaker, is bustling, its market stalls heaped with pomegranates, freshly roasted chickens, peanuts, green tea, chili peppers, and cheap candies. In the household section: alarm clocks, toothbrushes, paper clips, and brooms. The clothing aisle features flimsy track suits, T-shirts, shoes, and belts. Antibiotics and aspirin—of what quality one can only guess—can be found over by pharmacy row. For the refugees, we load up on sacks of cooking oil, biscuits, tea, and soap.

After a final checkpoint, we clear a steep hill and catch our first sight of Afghanistan, across the thin blue ribbon of the Pyanzh. From this distance, the

hilly terrain, part of northern Afghanistan's Kunduz province, looks lifeless. But it is Taliban country, patrolled by fighters equipped with aging, Soviet-made tanks and Kalashnikovs and also a haven for opium smugglers aiming to move their wares across the Pyanzh into Tajikistan and then northward toward markets as far away as Europe. The Russian army's border post at Pyanzh, manned largely by ethnic Tajik conscripts, occasionally makes large seizures, but the ranks of the guards are widely believed to be riddled with recruits who supplement their meager wages with bribes from the smugglers.

Inside the border post, our car snakes by an armed sentry, kneeling with a rifle pointed at the tall grass outside a barbed wire fence. A few months before, a Taliban sniper had wounded a border guard. We get out and our guide to the camps, a Russian army colonel, warns us to stick to the paths, as the area is heavily mined.

Our destination is Site No.13, home to some 1,500 refugees, part of a group of 10,000, most of them ethnic Tajiks and Uzbeks. They're loyal to the Northern Alliance, the loose collection of Afghan warlords who, before

the U.S. began its campaign, were trying, with little success, to expel the Taliban, who are mostly ethnic Pashtuns. They fled to the Pyanzh islands a year ago, when Taliban marauders rousted their villages to press able-bodied males into its ranks. Many of their homes have been burned to cinders. Unable to manage its own social and economic problems and concerned that the islands have become a refuge for Islamic militants of various stripes, Tajikistan is refusing to allow anyone in. So here they sit, visited occasionally by overburdened international relief agency workers.

A drought has parched this side of the Pyanzh, baring a rutted landscape of mud and softball-size white rocks. A group of refugees, mostly men clad in robes and turbans, approach the visiting party but keep a cautious distance. They are not shy, explains camp guardian Haroon Nazri, a 25-year-old Kabul native; they are wary. A month before, their leader back in Afghanistan, Ahmad Shah Massoud of the Northern Alliance, was assassinated by militants posing as television journalists. Nazri assures the refugees that

the cameraman is not carrying any bombs. The refugees pull closer and listen, as Nazri explains that the camp's inhabitants are aware of the U.S. bombardment of Afghanistan but don't know the impact of it.

Nearby stands the camp's primary school, a collection of mud huts. The camp's 170 children, aged 6 to 16, assemble to sing a martial anthem pledging their willingness to sacrifice their lives for the Afghan motherland.

My thought: They may not get that chance. Malnourished, lacking medicine, decent housing, and clean water, the camp's occupants, including the children, are dying. The short list of diseases includes malaria, dysentery, kidney infections, and rheumatism. Merlin, a London-based nongovernmental medical relief organization, provides limited assistance, including polio and measles vaccinations for children, but isn't able to do more.

Where are the bodies buried? That seems to be a mystery. Aid workers suspect that at least some of the corpses are being transported at night across the Pyanzh for secret burials in the home

villages of the refugees. Then the funeral party steals across the river, back to the camps.

It's time to go. Our army guide leads us back to our car, which is thoroughly searched by six guards before we're allowed to leave. With luck, we'll be back in Dushanbe by nightfall.

Moscow, Mar. 1. It has been more than two months since Northern Alliance troops, with crucial U.S. assistance, overran Taliban positions and seized Kabul. But a phone call to Merlin in Dushanbe reveals that little has changed for the refugees at Site No.13. Yes, the Taliban no longer control their villages, but at the moment, with their homes not yet rebuilt, there is nothing to return to. The U.N. High Commission for Refugees is preparing for their repatriation. Maybe, I'm told, they will be able to go back at the end of March. Maybe.

Moscow bureau chief Starobin covers Russia, the former Soviet republics, and Central Asia for BusinessWeek.



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WAR FRONT /

*Photographs from
The New York Times*

By Andrew Popper

A Sept. 16 headline in the paper captured the city's mood: "New York Drops Its Game Face." Two days later, *The New York Times* began a special news section, called "A Nation Challenged." The photographs on these pages were made on assignment for *The Times*, and published there during the 104 days the section continued.

Within the pages of "A Nation Challenged," readers found the compelling "Portraits in Grief," full pages devoted to brief remembrances of September 11 vic-





HOME FRONT

tims. Counterbalancing this mournful feature, the paper's photo editors, directed by Margaret O'Connor, sent five staff photographers to Afghanistan. Executive Editor Howell Raines gave Art Director Tom Bodkin freedom in page design, showcasing photography, sometimes at the expense of established news fiefdoms. Staff photographers who remained stateside, together with a small army of freelancers, fleshed out the domestic photo coverage.

The result was a remarkable juxtaposition of images from the U.S. and Afghanistan. Although there were heroic performances by photographers on the war front, it was truly an ensemble effort.

Even the stars, notably Tyler Hicks and James Hill, succeeded—and survived—in some measure because they paired up successfully with *Times* writers Dexter Filkins and David Rohde, respectively.

The Times is not usually regarded as a hometown paper. But here was New York, suddenly thrust into the theater of war, for the first time since the American Revolution. *The Times* stepped forward to produce and present these images. In doing so, it gave courage and fortitude to a stunned and grieving public. There is no greater service a newspaper can perform.

Popper is a picture editor for BusinessWeek International.

(Top left) A wounded pro-Taliban fighter realizes he is about to die at the hands of Northern Alliance soldiers. The image is part of a series by

Tyler Hicks, then with Getty Images but now on staff at *The Times*. "He's a soldier, and he knows they don't take prisoners," says Hicks. "Being my first time in Afghanistan, I didn't know."

(Top right) Staffer Andrea Mohin photographed young Jack Lynch at his firefighter father's memorial service on Nov. 24 in New Hyde Park, N.Y.

ON FUNERALS: "Before September 11, we spent a lot of time in our careers covering sad things. And while you...have to be able to feel for the people who are suffering, at the same time, particularly as a photographer, you have to be able to disassociate yourself. You feel it, but at the same time you're separated; you step back. It's something, actually, that became harder to do the more funerals we covered, and the more grieving we covered, because we as everyone else in New York felt an immediate loss as well." —**James Estrin, staff photographer**

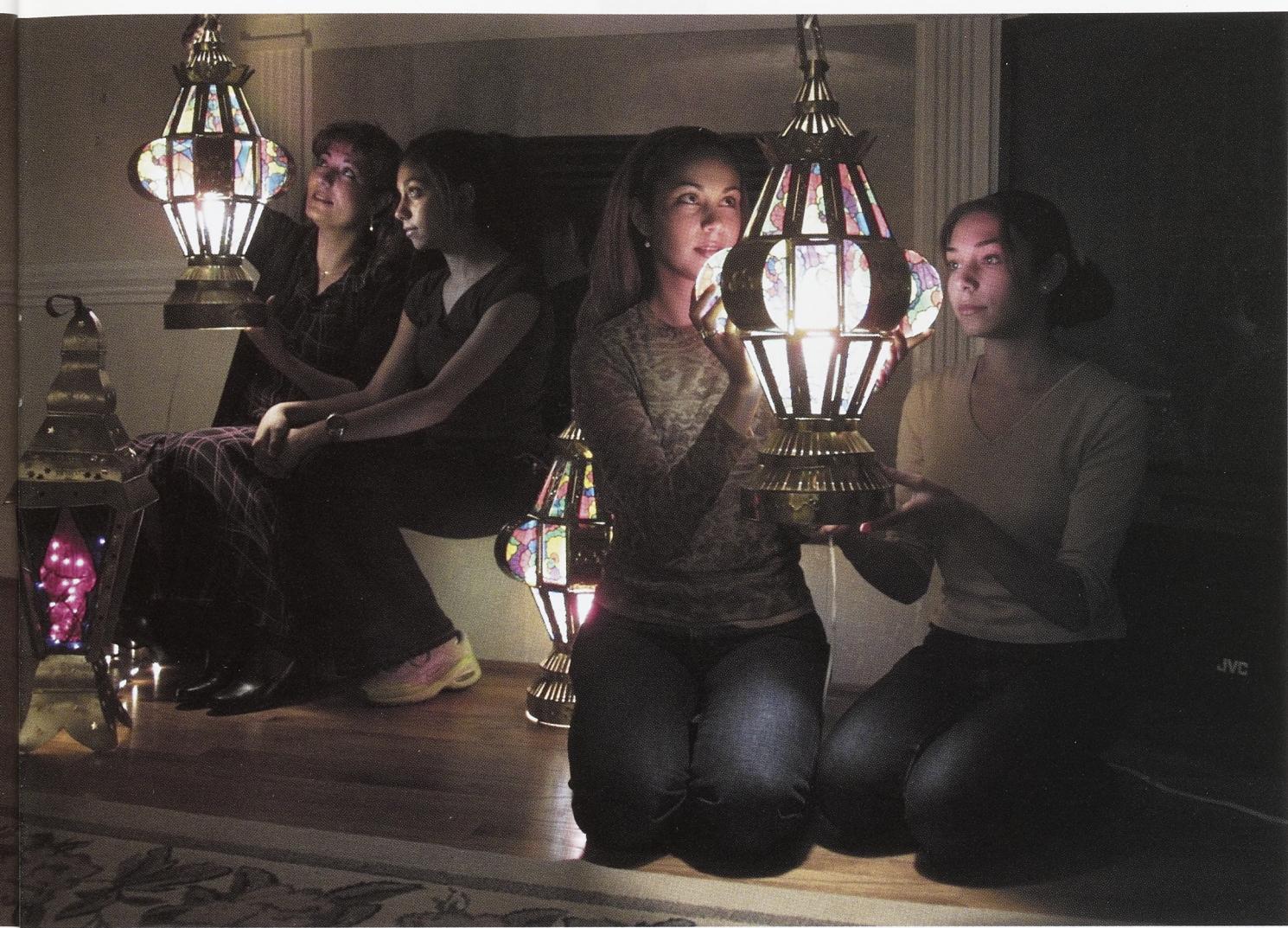
(Facing page, top) Raleigh-based freelancer **Bob Rives** did a number of Times assignments around Fort Bragg, N. C., including this picture of a Muslim family observing Ramadan. It led the section on Nov. 16.

(Bottom left). Staff photographer **Ozier Muhammad** covered this World Trade Center memorial at Yankee Stadium in September. He later went to Afghanistan, after lobbying hard to be sent to the war zone.

(Bottom center) New York's sometimes media-averse mayor was hard to catch in an authentic spontaneous moment, especially after September 11. **Angel Franco** succeeded, as Rudolph Giuliani greeted rescue workers at Ground Zero during the first week.

(Bottom right) New Jersey freelancer **Emile Wamsteker** contributed this portrait of a patriot, which ran in The Times's business section.







(Top) **Tyler Hicks** recorded an Afghan woman's moment of revelation in Kabul on Nov. 13, just as the city was being liberated.

(Bottom) **Robert Nickelsberg**, a veteran South Asia photographer with Getty Images, was the only journalist able to represent The Times at a Taliban "dog and pony show" (as one Times editor called it) in Kandahar. Nickelsberg earned several writing bylines in the "A Nation Challenged" section.





(Top) A sudden reversal for the Northern Alliance was caught by James Hill as troops heading for Kunduz were ambushed by Taliban forces. More than 60 died in the panic, most of them run over by vehicles from their own side.

(Bottom) When Hill grabbed a shot of two captives at Qala Jangi, he didn't believe the rumor that one was an American. A few days later, just before John Walker Lindh's story became known, Hill nearly deleted the image from his laptop.

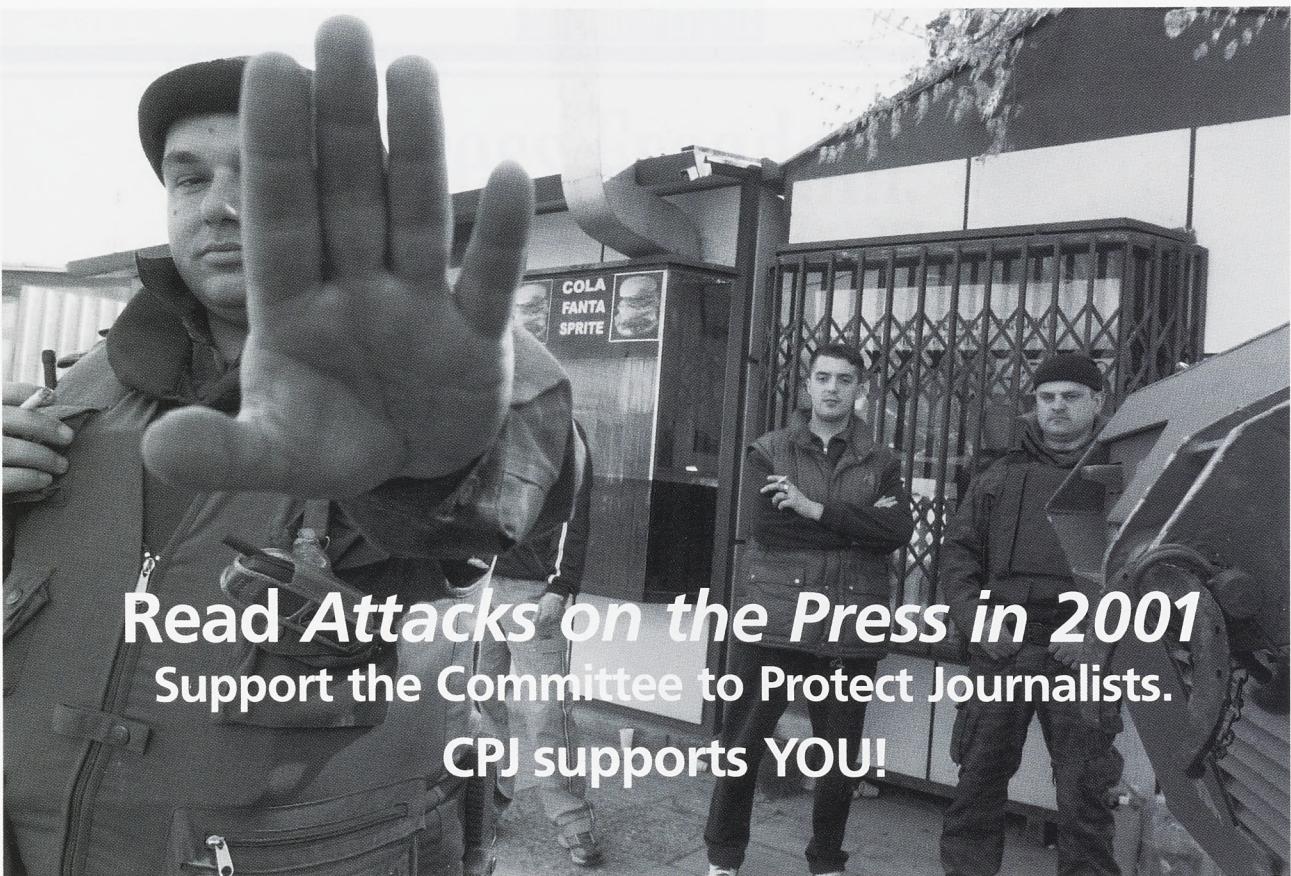
ON TECHNOLOGY: "I would spend many, many fraught minutes looking at this little kilobyte counter on my computer going 'ninety-two...ninety-three...', yearning for the time when you had two Leicas, your film, and some clothes, and that was it. Now you have a generator, a man who fixes the generator when it breaks down every night, and you have to get someone else to buy the petrol. Then you have your computer, and you have to have another computer when that one breaks down. You have to find somewhere to charge the batteries for your digital camera, and you have to find out where to charge the satellite phone. So every day was completely fraught with paranoia that something would go wrong. Twice I had my power cables burned by surges from the generator—once caused by our driver playing with it because it amused him. You find out who really are your friends among the photographic community, because you go out and say, 'Who's got a G4, guys?' and 'Who's got a spare cable?'...I mean, being with the fighting was fine. It was the computer thing, wasn't it, Tyler?"

—James Hill,
contract photographer



(Top) Staff photographer Nicole Bengiveno photographed Jennifer Brennan, whose husband was lost in the World Trade Center attacks, with their children.

ON PHOTOGRAPHING WOMEN: (Bottom) Staffer Ruth Fremson covered refugees at a camp in Pakistan. "There are not many advantages for women working here, but when you're dealing with women it's a great advantage." —Ruth Fremson, staff photographer



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“We reiterate our thanks and appreciation and further we express our constant readiness to cooperate with you in your noble mission.” —Mohammed J. Al-Ali, Managing Director, Al-Jazeera satellite network

CPJ defends press freedoms worldwide and helps protect journalists wherever they face danger. *Attacks on the Press in 2001* documents 551 cases of press freedom abuse and carries special reports on Syria, Burma, and Colombia, as well as analyses of press freedom conditions in 134 countries.

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Press Freedom: Never a Legitimate Target

By John Langone,
Jeremy Main, John Martin,
Kevin McDermott, and
Norman Schorr
OPC Freedom of the Press
Committee

The Overseas Press Club takes what might be called an absolutist perspective on the rights of our colleagues to do their jobs.

All year long, the Club's Freedom of the Press Committee is in touch with governments around the world on behalf of journalists in jeopardy. The list of troubles is typically grievous—from petty harassment to threats and fines and even murder. Grim as these situations are, making protests is usually an easy call. The issues at stake are self-evident. The right of free expression must be asserted everywhere—even in democratic countries facing complex problems.

In November, for example, the Nepalese government ordered the detention of nine staff members at publications associated with the country's Maoist movement. During the past six years, the Maoist insurgency in rural Nepal has cost the lives of 1,700 people. Since 2000, the violence has increased sharply, most of it aimed at government offices, police, and political leaders.

Yet the detention of the nine journalists seemed to the OPC an opportunistic stifling of criticism and free expression, with the orders issued by the government and the Nepalese army so general that they created a pretext for widespread interference with the function of a free press. The Ministry of Information & Communication prohibited publication, for example, of any items that could "harm national dignity" and encouraged the media to concentrate on official news and reports. The Freedom of the Press Committee protested directly to Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba that his government appeared to be giving itself wide latitude to suppress the legitimate work of journalists.

Similarly, last October David Pacha, a former editor of the magazine *Pochodon*, was indicted by a provincial prosecutor



**HARARE:
ZIMBABWEAN
JOURNALISTS
PROTEST
AFTER A
PRINTING
PRESS WAS
BOMBED**

in the Czech Republic for espousing an undemocratic protest by "following the theory of Marxism-Leninism." The charges against Pacha were based on an article he had written predicting that "the people will destroy damned imperialism and eradicate

all its oppressors, the wealthy and war murderers." If convicted, Pacha faces up to eight years in prison.

In a letter to Jaroslav Bures, the Czech Justice Minister, OPC Committee members maintained that while they do not endorse Pacha's comments, neither do they believe he should be prosecuted for making them. With reference to what was at that moment a hot subject in the

United States—the limitations of some personal freedoms in the interest of national security—the committee argued that “democracy is a dialogue. Sometimes it is intemperate, sometimes gentle. In either case, it serves the interests of the state to permit the dialogue, and indeed to encourage it.”

An opportunity to make that point came once again in November, when the broadcast facility of the Al Jazeera television network in Kabul was destroyed by a direct hit from a missile fired by a U.S. warplane. In an

appeal to Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, the Committee argued that among Al Jazeera’s 35 million viewers the attack may have done damage to the reputation of United States as a champion of open expression. Because the network has regularly been accused of having an anti-Western—specifically, anti-American—bias, the destruction of the Kabul offices by U.S. warplanes might have been viewed by the Islamic world as a deliberate act of retribution.

In our remarks to Secretary Rumsfeld, we echoed our colleague Nik Gowing at the BBC, who said at the Newsworld conference in Barcelona that same week that Western governments—in particular, the United States—must make very clear that

journalists and their media are never legitimate targets.

In 2001, 37 journalists were killed worldwide as a direct result of their work. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists, at least 25 of those journalists were murdered. Our position is now, as it always has been, that it would be a further tragedy in this already tragic time if the fundamental principle of a free world were to suffer collateral damage in the course of the current conflict.

Following is a condensed list of the more than 100 protests made on behalf of our colleagues around the world by the Freedom of the Press Committee in 2001.

**PETIT GOAVE,
HAITI: TAKING
TO THE STREETS
AFTER THE
DEATH OF A
RADIO REPORTER**



In 2001, 37 journalists were killed around the world as a direct result of their work. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists, at least 25 of them were murdered

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40 West 45th Street New York, NY 10036

Trouble Spots

Dateline's Report on OPC Protests



MOSCOW: ANCHOR ANNA PAVLOVA, WHO QUIT TV6, SIGNS OFF

The Americas

In 2001, Colombia supplanted Sierra Leone as the most dangerous country for people in the news business, with 11 journalists killed. In April, *Voz* correspondent **FLAVIO BEDOYA** was murdered, in all likelihood as a consequence of producing a series of stories alleging collusion between security forces and right-wing paramilitary gangs in Narion Department. In May, someone planted a cluster bomb in a truck belonging to **CARLOS LOZANO**, editor of *Voz* and a member of a commission set up to monitor official efforts to curb paramilitary attacks around Colombia. He survived the attack. In June, the OPC's Freedom of the Press Committee appealed directly to President Andres Pastrana to release the results of his investigation into the murder attempt.

The Committee made its voice heard on behalf of colleagues throughout the Americas, including Haiti, Panama, Paraguay, and Venezuela.

Guatemala was a source of special concern throughout the year. In March, the

Committee wrote to President Alvaro Arzú Irigoyen to protest the weak police response to an attack by an angry mob on the offices of the Guatemala City daily *El Periódico*, which had published articles exposing corruption and irregularities in the awarding of public-works contracts by the Communications Ministry. In May, the Committee expressed to new President Alfonso Portillo Cabrera concern for **SILVIA GEREDA**, the editor of *El Periódico*, who was grabbed by the neck while leaving Del Valle University and threatened with death if the paper continued to publish stories alleging corruption at the state bank. The Committee wrote to Portillo again in June on behalf of two radio reporters, **JUAN CARLOS** and **MARVIN HERWIN GONZALEZ**, who had received death threats. Both work for Radio Novedad, which has been critical of Guatemala's government. In August, the Committee complained to the president on behalf of Centro de Reportes Informativos Sobre Guatemala, a human-rights group that reports extensively on abuses in the country and whose staff have received multiple death threats.

In September, **JORGE ALEGRIA**, host of the phone-in program Radio Amatique, was shot dead. His murder, the Committee told Portillo, "is made more despicable given that it occurred even as a delegation of the Inter-American Press Assn. left the country after an evaluation of the freedom of its press."

North Africa and the Mideast

The conflict between Israel and the Palestinian Territories saw journalists harassed and at times literally under fire from both sides. The Committee was also active on behalf of journalists throughout the region, including Iran, Jordan, Kuwait, and Morocco.

In July, the Committee protested the treatment of two Egyptian journalists: **WAHID GHAZI**, editor of *Al-Muwaajaha*, and **MAMDOUH MAHRAN**, editor of two papers, *Al-Nabaa* and *Akhir Khabar*. Ghazi was accused of printing "unethical photographs" and had an entire press run confiscated. Mahrani was charged with disturbance of the peace, religious sedition, and printing "indecent images." In November, the Committee vigorously protested the harsh sentence imposed on Mahrani by an Egyptian security court for allegedly triggering "domestic upheaval" by running a story about a Coptic monk's sexual affairs. He received three years in prison and a fine, and his two newspapers were suspended.

In May, the Committee protested the imposition of legislation increasing the penalties for defaming Algeria's president and state institutions to President Abdelaziz Bouteflika. If convicted under the law, authors of news articles, and their editors and publishers, could face jail sentences and stiff fines.

In June, the Committee protested to Syrian President Bashar al-Asaad on behalf of **NIZAR NAYYOUN**, winner of multiple journalism prizes, including the 2000 UNESCO/Guillermo Cano World Press Freedom Prize. Last summer, he emerged from prison after nine years—with his health broken and unable to walk without crutches. He was immediately placed under house arrest and forbidden to leave the country for medical treatment. In October, the Committee communicated to President Asaad its dismay at the restrictions imposed by Syria's new press law, which requires all private media to be licensed by the government. The law allows the Prime Minister to reject license applications if there is any indication that the proposed publication would threaten the "national interest."

Europe

Throughout the year, the Committee kept a watchful eye on press-freedom cases in European countries, notably in Cyprus, Macedonia, Northern Ireland, Turkey, and

Yugoslavia. The status of journalists in the former Soviet republics and Eastern Europe remains of particular concern, especially in Albania, the Czech Republic, Kazakhstan, Estonia, and the Slovak Republic.

In the Republic of Georgia, the editor of *Meridiani*, **TAMAZ TSERTSVADZE**, was brutally beaten last February. In April, the paper's offices were ransacked. The paper had often been critical in its coverage of the government. The Committee protested to President Eduard Shevardnadze, and in August followed up with applause for Shevardnadze's decision to order a prompt investigation of the murder of **GEORGI SANIA**, the anchor at Rustavi-2, the independent TV station. The killing provoked outrage throughout Georgia. In October, an attempted raid on Rustavi-2 by the Security Ministry was thwarted by an angry public demonstration. Prior to the raid, the Interior Minister had threatened to put a stop to the station's investigations of corruption.

Throughout the year, the Committee made its concern about the treatment of Russian journalists known to President Vladimir V. Putin. In January, for example, five men attacked **OLEG LURIYE**, an investigative reporter for *Novaia Gazeta*. The

Committee subsequently appealed to U.S. ambassador James Collins on behalf of Luriye's efforts to obtain asylum in the U.S. Also in January, independent TV6 was yanked off the air after a dispute with a minority shareholder with ties to the government.

In May, Russia's energy monopoly, Gazprom, offered staffers at *Itorgi* magazine a choice: resign or be fired. In July, the Committee brought to Putin's attention what it called "the crude and illegal harassment of the press" in Vladivostok, notably in the case of **GRIGORY PASKO**, who was charged with espionage in response to his investigations of the dumping of nuclear wastes in the Sea of Japan by the Russian Navy.

Africa

The courage of African journalists continues to be an inspiration. In 2001, the Committee came to the defense of our colleagues across the continent, including Algeria, Angola, Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Swaziland, and Togo.

No country provoked greater concern than Zimbabwe. In January, the printing

press of Zimbabwe's independent *Daily News* was bombed. The *News* had frequently been accused of "unpatriotic" coverage of President Robert Mugabe's government. Only the day before the bombing, the State Information & Publicity Minister had threatened to silence the paper, calling it a security risk.

In February, the Committee protested both the continuing "harassment and cruel abuse" of Zimbabwe's media and a new policy aimed at expelling foreign correspondents. The first to receive expulsion orders were **JOSEPH WINTER**, correspondent for BBC's African service, and **MERCEDES SAYAGUES**, correspondent for South Africa's *Mail & Guardian*.

Throughout the year, the Committee kept up a steady communication with Mugabe. In July, it protested the banning of the TV program *Talk to the Nation* for "policy reasons" after callers began using the show as a forum for complaints about the government and the economy. In December, the Committee was in touch with Mugabe again, expressing outrage at a new law banning foreign journalists from Zimbabwe. The law was widely viewed as calculated to stifle international coverage of the country's presidential election in 2002.

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ALGIERS: JOURNALISTS DEMANDING REPEAL OF A TOUGH NEW PRESS LAW GET A POLICE ESCORT

Asia

Dangers to reporters covering the conflict in Afghanistan naturally captured headlines in 2001, but the difficult situation of journalists across Asia was a concern of the Committee throughout the year—not only in Afghanistan but in Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Nepal, the Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Thailand, and Taiwan.

In June, the Committee protested to Chinese President Jiang Zemin after a ban was imposed on newsstand sales of *Time* magazine. The Committee also spoke up for Internet publisher **HUANG QI**, who was imprisoned and beaten for posting “potentially subversive” content on his Web site. The Committee contacted President Jiang again in August, inquiring into the whereabouts of **JIANG WEIPING**, who disappeared after being indicted for libel following his articles alleging corruption in northeastern China on the American television documentary program *Frontline*. The case was disturbingly reminiscent of the situations of **HE QINGLIAN** and **GAO QIN-RONG**, both of whom endured retribution following publication of their investigations into official corruption.

In India, 17 journalists in the Kashmir town of Magam covering a suicide bombing at the offices of the Border Security Force found themselves under attack by angry members of the BSF. In September, the

Committee protested prosecution of **VINEET NARAIN**, founding editor of the New Delhi investigative journal *Kalchakra*, who was ordered to appear in a Kashmiri court despite an obvious danger to his life. Narain had been charged with libel for publishing an article in *Kalchakra* alleging favoritism in the resolution of a land dispute.

In April, the Committee appealed directly to Sri Lankan Attorney General K. K. Kamalasabeyon to pursue vigorously the prosecution of Air Force officers accused of entering the home of **IQBAL ATHAS**, defense columnist for *The Sunday Times*, and threatening his wife and 7-year-old daughter at gunpoint while the house was surrounded by armed men. Athas had written a series of articles alleging corruption in Air Force weapons-procurement contracts.

In May, the Committee wrote to Sri Lankan President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga condemning the treatment of **A.S.M. FASMI**, a reporter for the newspaper *Thinakkural* in Mannar, who had alleged the rape of two Tamil women by local security forces. After his subsequent arrest on a bribery charge, Fasmi was released but continued to receive death threats. In June, the Committee praised Kumaratunga for the decision to lift censorship restrictions on Sri Lankan media, but in August wrote to express deep concern about what appeared to be a campaign of harassment against Dharmeratnam Sivaram, editor of the TamilNet Web site, which publishes news of

interest to the Tamil community. Beginning in June, articles in state-run media accused Sivaram of being a spy for the rebel Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam—a charge that in Sri Lanka’s present situation jeopardizes the safety of Sivaram and his family.

In January, the Committee complained to Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf about the slow pace of the investigation into the bombing of the Urdu-language daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* the previous November. But in July, the Committee wrote to President Musharraf praising the ruling of a judge in Abbottabad that released four staffers at the newspaper *Mohasib*. They had been imprisoned for publishing an op-ed article arguing that a beardless man could be a good Muslim and criticizing the corruption of religious faith for personal gain. In August, the Committee strongly opposed the death sentence pronounced on publisher **REHMAT SHAH AFIDI**, editor of *The Frontier Post*, known for hard-hitting reporting about senior members of Pakistan’s government, including the Anti-Narcotics Force. Afidi had already spent two years in prison after the ANF claimed to have found hashish in his possession.

A week after the September 11 attack on the U.S., the Committee wrote to General Musharraf protesting the use of Pakistan’s blasphemy laws to shut down *Mohasib* and *The Frontier Post*, as well as to censor an article in the international edition of *Newsweek* called “Talking is Dangerous.”

Newsday

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 2001



U.S. Secretary of Defense

DONALD RUMSFELD

is in charge of waging a war unlike any other in America's history—a war, he says, that will allow "no margin of error."

THE BATTLE AHEAD

BY LYRIC WALLWORK WINIK

INSIDE: Stay Safe In A Biological Crisis...By Dr. Isadore Rosenfeld

Donald Rumsfeld at the window of his conference room in the Pentagon.

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